

*“E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIA*  
*SERIES.*

*VOL. III.*

(Translations of the three Inscriptions  
on the Cover.)

*1. Arabic.*

“These are our works which prove  
what we have done;  
Look, therefore, at our works  
when we are gone.”

*2. Turkish.*

“His genius cast its shadow o’er the world  
And in brief time he much achieved and  
wrought:  
The Age’s Sun was he, and ageing suns  
Cast lengthy shadows, though their time be  
short.”

(Kemâl Pâshâ-zâde.)

*3. Persian.*

“When we are dead, seek for our  
resting-place  
Not in the earth, but in the  
hearts of men.”

(Jalâlu’d-Dîn Rûmî.)



THE PEARL-STRINGS;  
A HISTORY OF THE RESÚLIYY DYNASTY  
OF YEMEN

'ALIYYU'BNU'L-HASAN 'EL-~~HAZ~~HAZHEJIYY;

WITH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION, ANNOTATIONS, INDEX,  
TABLES, AND MAPS

0861 CHECKED

BY THE LATE

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K.C.M.G., K.N.I., K.L.S.

HON. M.R.A.S., HON. M.R.S.L., ETC., ETC.

EDITED BY

E. G. BROWNE, R. A. NICHOLSON, AND A. ROGERS,

AND

PRINTED FOR THE TRUSTEES OF THE

"E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL."

VOLUME I,

CONTAINING THE FIRST PART OF THE TRANSLATION.

LEYDEN: E. J. BRILL, IMPRIMERIE ORIENTALE.

LONDON: LUZAC & CO., 46, GREAT RUSSELL STREET.

1906.



PRINTED BY  
STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, LTD.,  
HERTFORD.

“E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL” SERIES.

1. *The Bábar-náma, reproduced in facsimile from a MS. belonging to the late Sir Sálár Jang of Haydarábád, and edited with Preface and Indexes, by Mrs. Beveridge, 1905.*
2. *An abridged translation of Ibn Isfandiýár's History of Tabaristán, by Edward G. Browne, 1905.*
3. *Text and Translation of the 'Uqúdu'l-Lu'lu'iyya, or "Pearl-Strings," of 'Alí b. al-Ḥasan al-Khazrají, being a History of the Rasúli Dynasty of Yaman, translated into English, with an Introduction, Annotations, Index, Tables, and Maps, by the late Sir James W. Redhouse, Litt.D. (Camb.), K.C.M.G., etc., etc., and now edited by E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson: Vol. I of the Translation, 1906.*

IN PREPARATION.

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*The Funds of this Memorial are derived from the interest accruing from a sum of money given by the late MRS. GIBB of Glasgow, to perpetuate the Memory of her beloved son*

**ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,**

*and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy, and Religion of the Turks, Persians, and Arabs to which, from his youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented death in his 45th year on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.*

تِلْكَ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا \* فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ،

“The worker pays his debt to Death;  
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth.”

*The following memorial verse is contributed by ‘Abdu’l-Haqq Hāmid Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an intimate friend of the deceased.*

جمله یارانی وفاسیه ایدرکن تطیب  
کندی عمرند و فاگورمدی اول ذاتِ ادیب  
گنج ایکن اولش ایدی اوج کماله واصل  
نه اولوردی باشامش اولسه ایدی مستر گیب

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*PUBLISHERS FOR THE TRUSTEES.*

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*LUZAC & CO., LONDON.*

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# EDITOR'S PREFACE.

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BUT few prefatory words are needed to introduce this book to Orientalists and students of Eastern History and Geography. Sir James Redhouse, in the Preface prefixed to this volume (p. 3), and written eighteen years ago, has explained how gratitude for the degree of Doctor of Letters, conferred upon him by the University of Cambridge in June, 1884, in recognition of the signal services rendered by him to Turkish philology and Oriental letters, prompted him to transcribe and translate, with notes, indices, and maps, the unique manuscript of Al-Khazraji's '*Uqdu'l-Lu'lu'yya fi Ta'rikhi'd-Dawlati'r-Rasuliyya*' preserved in the India Office Library, and to offer this monument of his industry and scholarship to the Cambridge University Library.

While compiling my *Hand-list of the Muḥammadan Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (1900), I had occasion to examine Sir James Redhouse's manuscript, and was greatly struck by its beauty and neatness. It comprises five volumes, one of text, two of translation, one of notes, and one of indices and maps, handsomely bound in morocco, and contained in a case bearing the class-marks of the manuscript, Add. 2937-2941. Though recognizing the truth of Sir James Redhouse's observation that "the book could not possibly find a sale sufficient to cover the expenses of its publication," I could not help regretting that so much erudition and industry should be practically wasted; for I doubt if the manuscript



had once been opened from the time when it was "consigned . . . to the protecting shelves of the University Library" until the time when I took it out to describe it in my *Hand-list*.

It is improbable that any European ever had so complete and commanding a knowledge of the Ottoman Turkish language as Sir James Redhouse, and it is certain that none has rendered such service to the lexicography and grammar of the language as he. Even amongst the Turks themselves his *Muntakhabât-i-Lughât-i-'Osmâniyyé* (lith. Const., A.H. 1268-9), a dictionary of Arabic and Persian words used in Ottoman Turkish, explained in Turkish, is still an authority. He was the friend and teacher of the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, whom he did not cease, so long as he lived, to inspire, advise, and encourage, and who always regarded him as his master in Turkish. As I write, there lies before me a copy of the *Mihnet-Keshân* of 'Izzet Mollâ,<sup>1</sup> lithographed at the *Hawâddîş* Press in A.H. 1269 (= A.D. 1852-3), which bears on the blank page at the beginning a portrait of Redhouse, a brief biographical notice of him from *Debrett's Peerage* for 1886, and beneath this the inscription: "*To E. J. W. Gibb, Esq., M.R.A.S., from his old friend J. W. Redhouse, London, 23rd October, 1885.*" The notice from Debrett runs as follows:—

"REDHOUSE, James William, C.M.G.: b. 1811; ed. at Christ's Hospital; went to Constantinople 1826, and was occasionally employed there in different departments until 1834; appointed 1838 a member of the Translations Office of the Porte, and in 1840 was transferred to the Turkish Admiralty; acted as confidential medium of communication between the Porte and the British Ambassador 1839-41; in 1840 went on a mission to coast of Syria, then blockaded by the allied English, Turkish, and Austrian squadrons, and was engaged in communications between the Admirals and the Turkish Com.-in-Ch. on shore (Turkish order of the *Nishân-i-Iftikhâr* in brilliants and made a Member of Naval Council); was 1842-7 Sec. to British Commn. of Mediation at Conferences which led to Treaty of Peace of Erzeroum between Turkey and Persia (Persian order of Lion and Sun, and Mil. rank of Col. 1st class); appointed Oriental Translator to Foreign Office 1854; in 1857 went to Paris to assist in wording the Persian text of Treaty of Peace with Persia; Hon. Doctor of Letters of Cambridge Univ.

<sup>1</sup> See vol. iv of Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, pp. 304-306 and 308-322.

1884; author of numerous works in English, French, and Turkish on Eastern subjects and Oriental Philology; formerly Sec. to Royal Asiatic Soc., and is a member or corresponding member of several learned Socs.: *m.* 1836, Jane E. Carruthers, daughter of the late Thomas Slade, Esqre., of Liverpool; *cr.* C.M.G. 1885. 14, *Kilburn Priory, N.W.*"<sup>1</sup>

Lying loose in the book is the letter which accompanied it, also dated October 23rd, 1885. The text of this, which seems to me sufficiently interesting to merit a place here, runs as follows:—

"14, KILBURN PRIORY, LONDON, N.W.  
23rd October, 1885.

"DEAR MR. GIBB,

I quite reproach myself for having forgotten your wish to have Izzet Molla again. I now attempt an atonement for the oversight by sending you the book to keep as your own. No more fitting successor to its ownership in England could be found or imagined than yourself. I have put my photograph, memoir from Debrett, and signature into it as souvenirs of me when I may long have passed away.

"The ten large volumes of my manuscript Thesaurus of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish are gone to the Library of the British Museum as my offering. I have put my photograph, memoir, and signature at the head of the first volume, with a title-page and preface recording the gift and the genesis of the book. If preserved there, my name will not soon die.

"I have been much interested in reading the *مِزَاقِی عِلْمِ حَالِ*. It is one of many 'catechisms' of Islam. I have penciled some remarks through it. Look in p. 54; you will find there no mention of *وسيلة*. The eight paradises, *هَشْتِ بَهْشْتِ*, *الْجَنَّاتُ السَّمَاوِيَّةُ*, that I have found in the *Qur'an*, and which I believe to be simply

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Redhouse married as his second wife a daughter of the late Sir Patrick Colquhoun, and died on the morning of Saturday, January 2nd, 1892. See the obituary notice in the *Times* of January 4th, 1892. The obituary notice in the *J.R.A.S.* (vol. xxiv, pp. 160-161) is meagre and inadequate, and does not even mention the date of his death. He was knighted in 1888.

eight epithets of one sole paradise, are these, alphabetically : دَارُ السَّلَامِ , — التَّعَمِّمِ , — الْمَأْوَى , — الْفِرْدَوْسِ , — عَدْنٍ , جَنَّةُ الْخُلْدِ , مَقَامُ الْوَسِيلَةِ (for وَصِيلَةٍ station of him who is the *means* of approach to God) is this last, عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام , otherwise قَابُ قَوْسَيْنِ أَوْ أَدْنَى , where Muhammed stood in his interview with God, and to which not even Gabriel might approach. At any rate it is singular that وَصِيلِهِ is not mentioned in pp. 54-6. I suppose d'Ohsson got it from a picture like the one in the مِزْرَاقَلِي . You know that عِلْمُ حَالِ means *virtually* a catechism. All children learn it while young, and there are many commentaries ; that by بَرَكُوْی (the man of Birga, برگه ; not far from Brusa) is the most used and esteemed. He is quoted in the مِزْرَاقَلِي several times.

"You must read the chapters about women and infants who die in Islam, pp. 110-129 ; then remember what I have said in 'Turkish Poetry.'<sup>1</sup> Also look at أُورُونْمَكْ at p. 112.

"Will you give the inclosed photograph and memoir to Mr. Clouston for me. He will gum them into some book in memory of me. Captain Cobbett is in Glasgow to arrange about going out again next month.

"Believe me, dear Mr. Gibb,

Yours very sincerely,

J. W. REDHOUSE.

"E. J. W. Gibb, Esqre.  
Glasgow.

"Do not send me any more books ; I try my eyes too much in reading them, and cannot resist.—J. W. R."

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 6-15 of the work in question, originally read as a paper "On the History, System, and Varieties of Turkish Poetry" before the Royal Society of Literature on February 12th, 1879, and reprinted by Trübner.

I have quoted this letter for two reasons, firstly to prove the intimacy and intellectual sympathy which existed between Redhouse and Gibb, and secondly to show how great was the desire of the former to be remembered by his works after he himself had passed away. To this desire he alludes no less than three times in this one letter; and though there is no fear that his name will be forgotten so long as the Turkish language continues to be studied, nothing could be more appropriate than that one of his unpublished works—a work on which he expended four precious years of his old age—should appear in the series of publications which owes its existence to the munificence of the late Mrs Jane Gibb, of Glasgow, and which has the twofold object of commemorating her illustrious son and promoting those studies to which his life was devoted.

The printing of the volume was resolved on at a meeting of the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial held on July 26th, 1905, and since the original manuscript could not be placed in the printer's hands, the task of transcribing the English portion was entrusted to Mr. A. Rogers, of the Cambridge University Library. The transcript of the first volume, now published, was revised by me, while the proofs were read by Mr. R. A. Nicholson and also collated with the original by Mr. Rogers. The general principle which has guided us in our work was to alter as little as possible. Sir James Redhouse's name is a sufficient guarantee of accuracy, and, had we endeavoured to amend his translation, the work would have been no longer his but ours. We have therefore taken the translation as we found it, and have confined ourselves to correcting a few obvious mistakes and oversights, modifying in certain respects the system of transliterating Arabian names and words adopted by the translator, and making certain necessary changes in the numbering of the notes.

As regards the system of transliteration, we have only effected such changes as appeared to us essential or very desirable, such as—

- (1) The substitution of *d* for *dz* in the transliteration of ض ;
- (2)       "       "       *dh*   "   *ts*       "       "       ظ ;

(3) The substitution of *gh* for *g* in the transliteration of غ ;

(4) The removal of the lines placed by the translator under all combinations of English letters representing single Arabic letters (such as *th* for ث, *kh* for خ, *sh* for ش, etc.), with the single exception of the above *dh* for ط.

On the other hand, we have kept : (1) the narrow Turkish *e* used by the translator instead of *a* to represent the *fatḥa* ; (2) the indication of initial *hamza* by ( ' ) ; (3) the transliteration of final ي by *-iyy* instead of the more usual, if less scientific, *-i*. Long marks over the long vowels have, moreover, been replaced by accents, which seem to us at once more artistic and more in keeping with the traditions of the English language than the Latin symbol.

As regards the Notes, the numbering has been made continuous, instead of being renewed on each page, as is done in the original. To be obliged to mention the pages in connection with the notes seemed in any case a needless complication, but when, as necessarily happened when the book was printed, a new pagination was introduced, the confusion would have become intolerable had we attempted to preserve this feature of the original. The pages of the Arabic original preserved in the India Office which correspond to each portion of the translation are indicated by us, as they were by Sir James Redhouse, by marginal references in European type to the folios of that MS., while the Arabic numbers also placed in the margin refer to the pagination of Sir James Redhouse's transcript of the Arabic text. The latter figures, it will be observed, occur at regular intervals throughout this volume, while the former are irregular, in consequence of the omissions and abbreviations which Sir James Redhouse deemed it expedient to make here and there (see his Preface, p. 3, at the beginning of the second paragraph). Thus, for instance, on p. 59, the translation of ff. 74<sup>b</sup> and 75<sup>b</sup> has been either entirely omitted or epitomized in a line or two.

The whole English portion of the work has been transcribed by Mr. Rogers, and it is hoped that the printing will now go

steadily forwards without interruption, though it may be found necessary to reconstruct the Index and revise the Maps. The Arabic text will probably be reproduced by Bromide photographs, and printed from these in Egypt, with omission of all vowel-points save such as appear necessary ; for complete vocalization would greatly increase the cost of printing, and is, moreover, absent in the original, though introduced by Sir James Redhouse into his transcript.

Any observations on the value of Al-Khazraji's work which it may appear desirable to make will be reserved for the concluding volume, and it therefore only remains for me to express my gratitude to my co-editors for their valuable co-operation.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

CAMBRIDGE.

*November 4th, 1906*



A TRANSLATION

OF

“THE PEARL-STRINGS”

OF

'EL-KĦAZREJIYY.





## PREFACE.

---

IN June, 1884, the Senate of the University of Cambridge conferred on me the honorary degree of "Doctor of Letters"; and in testimony of my sense of gratitude for that distinction, I resolved to offer to the Library of the University a transcript, by my own hand, of a unique Arabic manuscript, which I knew to be among the treasures of the India Office Library, a copy of "The Pearl-Strings; a History of the Resúliyy Dynasty in Yemen," by the 'Imám 'el-Khazrejiyy,<sup>1</sup> who lived at the court of the seventh monarch of that line, Sultan Melik 'Eshref II, at the same time as Fírúzábádiyy, Judge of Judges of the kingdom, and author of the great Arabic lexicon 'el-Qamúsu'l-Muhít, besides many other learned works. That Sultan died in A.H. 803 (A.D. 1400), and with his death the history ends, though the dynasty was not dispossessed for another sixty years. The author of the Qámús did not die till A.H. 817 (A.D. 1414); but the demise of Khazrejiyy took place in A.H. 812 (A.D. 1409). Hence it is clear that he could not have written an account of the expulsion of the 'Álu Resúl from Yemen, as P'ayfair's history asserts of him.

In transcribing the Arabic text (with omission of some poetry and obituary notices), the work seemed to me to possess sufficient interest to warrant its translation; especially in its relation to the bygone fortunes of England's now most important coaling-station, the ancient emporium of 'Aden, the centre of the maritime commerce of the world until the passage of the Cape of Good Hope drew away its activity and sapped the source of its wealth. The history was therefore translated also.

<sup>1</sup> See Loth's *Catalogue*, p. 203, No. 719.

Many names of places unknown to geographers occurring in the work, as also some of the institutions of 'Islám not universally understood, a body of annotations was judged useful, and has been added. An index of the names of persons and places, as also of the leading words of the translated history, has further been appended as a matter of course, and a detailed table of contents.

To render more clear to the reader or student the exact place in the world's history filled by the Resúliyy Dynasty, an Introduction has been compiled, showing the general chain of events that form the history of Yemen from the earliest mention of the country in the contemporary hieroglyphic records of Egypt and cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, down to this day.

A copy of my "Chronological Synopsis of the History of Arabia and its Neighbours," which grew out of my study of 'el-Khazrejiyy's work, is bound up herewith as elucidatory of the connexion of Yemen with Rome, Persia, Syria, Egypt, etc.; and a few genealogical tables and sketch-maps of approximate sites are added with the view of making the whole book as complete a body of information as I have been able to bring together by the labour of four years, when not occupied by official or social avocations.

As the book could not possibly find a sale sufficient to cover the expenses of its publication, it will be consigned without a regret to the protecting shelves of the University Library; and the unique India Office volume, a gift of Warren Hastings, will thus have its double at Cambridge, and may become more valuable as a book of consultation than it has been in the past in its almost unknown isolation.

JAMES W. REDHOUSE.

*London, 1888.*

## INTRODUCTION.

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KHAZREJIYY'S. History of the Resúliyy Dynasty in Yemen opens with a short account of some ancient legends connected with the mythical descent of that family from Noah through Joktan (Qaḥṭán), the departure of its supposed ancestors from Me'rib (Mariaba, lat.  $15^{\circ} 25' N.$ , long.  $44^{\circ} 40' E.$ ) before the ruin of the great Dam, the arrival of the tribe at Mekka ( $21^{\circ} 35' N.$ ,  $40^{\circ} 20' E.$ ) shortly before our vulgar era, its dispersal thence to various parts of Arabia, and the settlement of that branch of it in Trans-Jordan as Roman viceroys in the time of Augustus Cæsar, from which, thirteen hundred years later, the founder of the dynasty, Melik Maṣṣúr Núru'd-Dín 'Umer b. 'Aliyy b. Resúl, claimed to be descended.

The history closes, on the other hand, 170 years further on, with the death, in A.H. 803 (1400), of its seventh sovereign, Melik 'Eshref II, 'Ismá'íl b. 'Abbás b. 'Aliyy b. Dáwúd b. Yúsuf b. 'Umer b. 'Aliyy b. Resúl, though it names his son and successor, Melik Náṣir 'Aḥmed.

It has been thought, therefore, worth while to trace succinctly the whole history of Yemen, as far as possible, from the earliest times down to the present day, showing how the Resúliyy dynasty succeeded to a line of Egyptian princes of the family of the great Ṣaláhu'd-Dín (the Saladin of the Crusaders), how the Ottoman rule became established there, and how England acquired possession of its great seaport, 'Aden, once a centre of maritime commerce, now a mere coaling-station.

Adequately to perform this task, a few geographical details have seemed necessary, in order to define the various meanings

of the name Yemen, and to fix the position and extent of the country over which the Resúliyy dynasty ruled.

The 'island,' i.e. the peninsula of Arabia, as defined by native geographers, is bounded to the south by the Indian Ocean between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. On the north it reaches to the narrow barren isthmus that lies between the Euphrates and the western parts of northern Syria in about the latitude of  $37^{\circ}$  N., where the skirts of Mount Taurus oppose a barrier to any further northern extension of the sands of the great Syrian desert. Its eastern limit is traced from that isthmus southwards by the stream of the lower Euphrates to the head of the Persian Gulf, and thence onwards by the west shore of that gulf as far as the Indian Ocean. To the west, from the Strait of Bábu'l-Mendeb, the east coasts of the Red Sea and Gulf of 'Aqaba, the two valleys thence to the Dead Sea, the eastern shore of that lake, the river Jordan, and the western edges of the Syrian Desert northwards to the isthmus at the foot of Mount Taurus, complete its circuit.

The large extent of country thus marked out is variously subdivided by geographers, ancient and modern, native and foreign. Babylonia and Mesopotamia to the east of the river Euphrates, and Syria, as well as the Sinaitic peninsula, to the west of the boundaries described, are held to be excluded from the 'Island of Arabia' as thus defined.

The 30th parallel of North latitude may be roughly taken as separating this Arabia into two very unequal parts. The desert to the north of that latitude is the 'Shám' or 'north country' of the Arabians, and is commonly designated Bádiyetu'sh-shám or Berriyyetu'sh-shám (the waste of the north country).

The lands south of the 30th degree may be again divided, roughly, into two sections by the 20th parallel. The northern of these two sections is cut up into four regions lying east and west of each other. The easternmost of the four is 'Umán (Oman), on the Indian Ocean and southern end of the Persian Gulf. The next towards the west occupies the remaining

or northern portion of the west coast of the gulf, and is known by the names of Baḥreyn, Hejer, and 'El-'Aḥsá. West of this lies the upland of Nejd; while between this and the Red Sea is the Ḥijáz, in which are the cities of Mekka and Medína.

The whole district south of latitude 20° has been sometimes called Yemen, i.e. the South Country, in its entirety. But more generally it is divided into three portions—Yemen to the west, skirting the Red Sea to the strait of Bábu'l-Mendeb, and thence to a little beyond the ocean port of 'Aden; then Ḥaḍramawt, the strip of coast adjoining the Indian Ocean from near 'Aden as far as 'Umán; and north of this the sandy waste of the interior, named 'Aḥqáf, which lies between Nejd, with Hejer to the north, 'Umán to the east, Ḥaḍramawt to the south, and Yemen to the west.

The large Yemen thus bordering the Red Sea consists in a long range of high mountains, running nearly north and south, with deep valleys sloping towards the eastern sandy desert of 'Aḥqáf on the one hand, and a series of narrow ravines or gullies running towards the low, flat, and hot countries bordering the Red Sea, westwards, on the other. This range of mountains, called the Serát, or in the plural, the Serewát, has its ridge at a distance of from 80 to 100 or 120 miles from the Red Sea coast; the mass being subdivided into groups of mountains, with special names, from the vicinity of 'Aden to that of Tá'if in the latitude of Mekka. It continues as a more or less definite chain through the north of Arabia, and through Syria, until it joins Mount Taurus near the head of the Gulf of 'Iskenderún (Scanderoon).

This large Yemen may be divided conveniently into three zones from north to south. The northern zone, to about lat. 18° N., may be named 'Athther (Asir of maps). It has not generally been directly subject to the rulers of Yemen proper, though they have laid claim to it, and have occasionally held the towns or castles of its coast, and although the whole is now held by Ottoman troops and governed by the Sultan-Caliph from Constantinople. The middle zone, to nearly lat. 15° N.,

though sometimes overrun from the south, has generally, during the last thousand years or so, been subject to 'Imáms of the schismatic Zeydiyya sect, and other more or less independent chieftains. The southern zone, to the Indian Ocean, is the Yemen of the Resúliyy dynasty; sometimes expanding as far as Şa'da to the north, and sometimes dwindling to about lat. 14° N. in the mountains, but exerting authority generally as far as about lat. 16° N. in the low sea-coast country and some of the adjacent hills. The whole is now a peaceable, thriving Turkish province.

Near the line of crests of the great mountain range in this third zone, two districts are to be noted as bearing the names, respectively, of Upper Yemen and Lower Yemen, their capitals being Şan'á' in Upper Yemen, and Jened, Ta'izz, or Jubla, at various times, in Lower Yemen. The low, hot, sea-coast lands near the Red Sea, from north to south, and of varying width, form the Tiháma or hot country, the home of the date-palm, of which Zebíd has been the capital from nearly the commencement of 'Islám, though Hudeyda, a port further north, is now the centre of administration.

With respect to the ancient history of Yemen, it is found recorded in the contemporary hieroglyphs of Thotmes III, of about B.C. 1600, that Yemen, by the name of Pún, was made dependent on Egypt, its queen having to go and perform homage at Thebes to Queen Hatasu and her young brother Thotmes. Again, in about B.C. 1450, Seti sent his fleet and re-established the Egyptian supremacy over Pún. The Bible tells us of the visit of the Queen of Sheba (Seba' or Me'rib) to Solomon in about B.C. 1000, and Arabian legend makes the pair become man and wife. She is named Bilqís in the legend and in modern Arabian poetry, being said to have added to the great Dam (built in prehistoric times) a number of conduits for the regulation and distribution of its waters. These are said to have irrigated a tract of country a month's journey in length and breadth, where the fruit-trees gave a continuous shade, and where the falling ripe fruit filled the baskets borne on the heads of slaves, who neither picked

them from the trees nor collected those that had fallen to the ground. This Dam of Me'rib appears to have gone to ruin in about the year B.C. 427, after Asshurbanipal, King of Assyria, had crossed Arabia to the Hġjáz in B.C. 657, and Nebuchadnezzar had penetrated to 'Aden along the coast from the Hġjáz in B.C. 574, without effecting any permanent conquests.

When the Roman empire had extended to the east, so as to include Syria and Egypt, Ælius Gallus, the prefect of the latter country for Augustus Cæsar, planned an expedition for the conquest of Western Arabia, borrowed a contingent from Herod the Great, engaged the services of another contingent of Arabians from Petra, under the command of Syllæus, and landed with his forces at the Arabian port of Leucé-Kómé ('El-Hawrá', lat. 25° 0' N., long. 37° 20' E.) in B.C. 24. Syllæus led him into the interior, whence he proceeded to the south, probably by the modern Hġjj road, the old road of commerce past the sites of Medína, Mekka, Tā'if, and Tebála, to Nejrán and Me'rib. He gained a pitched battle in Nejrán, and laid siege to Me'rib; but after six days, failing to capture the city, he was forced, by want of provisions, to retreat and regain Egypt with a remnant of his forces. He accused Syllæus of premeditated treachery — a stale resource of unsuccessful generals. Circumstances were against him, the chief being ignorance of the country. He was baffled, perhaps, by a famine, with a pest, so often witnessed there, as well as by want of water, for the Dam had been long ruined.

After that Roman invasion we have no notice of southern Arabia, except legend, until it was invaded and temporarily subjugated by the Abyssinians in A.D. 528, though various Arabian historians have traced a line of powerful, but mythical monarchs, with some breaks, from Ya'rub, son of Qaḥṭán, who is said to have founded the monarchy.

The Abyssinian conquerors were expelled by the Persians in A.D. 600. After Muḥammed had captured Mekka in A.H. 8 (A.D. 630), Yemen began to adopt 'Islám, and Muslim governors were appointed, by the Prophet and his successor, to rule the



country—'Ibán, and then Ya'lá, at Şan'á'; Mu'ádh at Jened; and Ziyád in Ḥaḍramawt.

At the Prophet's death in A.H. 11 (A.D. 632), a local impostor, named 'el-'Eswed, of the tribe of 'Ans, caused some trouble in Yemen, but he was soon killed at Şan'á' by local chiefs, and order was restored under the Muslim governors.

In the disputes between the rival caliphs 'Aliyy and Mu'áwiya, in about A.H. 37 (A.D. 657), each sent deputies to Yemen; but those of Mu'áwiya obtained possession, and his successors named others from time to time, until the 'Abbásiyy dynasty acquired the supreme power in 'Islám in A.H. 132 (A.D. 749), and subsequently made Baghdád their capital. Yemen then became a province of their widely extended empire, and they appointed its governors until the heretical Qarმათიyy rebels (Qarámīṭa) under Maṣṣūr and 'Aliyy b. Faḍl obtained the mastery over the country in A.H. 293 (A.D. 905).

The power of these heretics did not last long, for 'Aliyy b. Faḍl, after a career of fifteen years, generally successful, was killed in A.H. 303 (A.D. 915) by the use of a poisoned lancet when being bled; and Maṣṣūr had died a year earlier, leaving the chiefship over the Qarámīṭa to be disposed of by 'Ubeydu'lláh el-Mehdiyy, founder of the Fátimite dynasty of pseudo-caliphs, who then resided at Mehdiyya (Mehedie of maps, 35° 24' N., 11° 0' E.), either to Ḥasan, a son of Maṣṣūr himself, or to a certain 'Abdu'lláh Sháwiriyy, a confidant. Mehdiyy decided in favour of Sháwiriyy. Ḥasan feigned to acquiesce, until he found an opportunity and murdered Sháwiriyy. He now declared himself an orthodox Sunniyy, and his followers put to death all the Qarámīṭa they could lay hands on. Ḥasan, and all his family, were in their turn killed by those who had submitted to his father Maṣṣūr in the hill-country near Shibám and the Ḥaḍúr, west of Şan'á', so that the Qarámīṭa were entirely extirpated, or were forced to fly, or to conceal themselves. They outwardly pretended to be Sunniyy in faith but were really partisans of the Fátimiyy caliphs until the early days of 'el-Mustaṣṣir in Egypt in A.H. 427 (A.D. 1035).

From among them arose the family of Şulayhiyy, which attained to power in Yemen in A.H. 439 (A.D. 1047).

The first to rule in Şan'á', Jened, etc., almost to Şa'da, after the Qarámiṭa and 'Aliyy b. Faḍl, was 'Es'ad b. Ya'fur, Hīwáliyy, but Şa'da was left under the 'Imám Murtaḍá b. Hádí. 'Es'ad died in A.H. 310 (A.D. 922). His brother 'Aḥmed Náşir took 'Aden, but died in A.H. 322 (A.D. 933).

The 'Imáms of Şa'da, and various chiefs of the tribes of Khawlán or of Hemdán, now acquired the rule of Şan'á' by turns, in rapid succession, while the family of Ziyád continued to rule at Zebíd over the Tiháma until the year A.H. 377 (A.D. 987), when the Hīwáliyy ruler of Şan'á' captured Zebíd and sacked it cruelly, ceasing at the same time to pray for the caliph of Baghdád, and adopting the prayer for the Fáṭimiyy caliph of Egypt, 'Azíz b. Mu'izz; he died in A.H. 387 (A.D. 997).

In the year A.H. 389 (A.D. 999), the 'Imám Manşúr Qásim b. Muḥammed b. 'Aliyy, of the Huseyniyy branch of Sherífs, who had hitherto resided at Khath'am in the Serát range, came to Şa'da and was acknowledged by the inhabitants. He then advanced to Reyda (Reda of Niebuhr, Rhede of maps, 15° 45' N., 43° 5' E.), and the people of Bewn (Bôn of maps) likewise acknowledged him. He sent a governor to Şan'á', who took possession for him also of the 'Ans country and of Dhemár. On his invitation, too, the lord of Kehlán (in Hajja) declared for the 'Imám Manşúr. But differences sprang up between the 'Imám and his governor; on which the latter invited another 'Imám to Şan'a', and great troubles ensued there until the end of the fourth century of the Hijra (about A.D. 1008), no ruler remaining long in power.

The son of 'Imám Manşúr, 'Imám Huseyn, came to Qá'a (Bewn) in A.H. 401 (A.D. 1010), declaring himself the Mehdiyy foretold by Muḥammed. Most of the tribes acknowledged him and deserted the other 'Imáms. He defeated and killed his father's old governor; but the son of the latter collected the tribes of 'Ans and Hemdán, asking aid also from Zebíd.

Ultimately, 'Imám Ḥuseyn was defeated and killed in A.H. 404 (A.D. 1013).

After some years, in A.H. 413 (A.D. 1022), Ja'fer, brother of Ḥuseyn, came from Ṣa'da to Ṣan'á' as 'Imám. In A.H. 422 (A.D. 1031), another 'Imám proclaimed himself, Ḥasan b. 'Abdī'r-Raḥmán; and with him was his son Ḥamza, after whom are named the Ḥamziyy 'Imáms and Sherífs of Yemen. The chief of the Ḥiwáliyy family joined him; so that the Shí'iy sectarians became predominant over the Sunniyy Muslims for a time.

Dissensions soon broke out again, and in A.H. 439 (A.D. 1047) another 'Imám, of a Deylemite family, proclaimed himself at Bewn, collecting forces against Ṣa'da, which he took and ravaged. He afterwards entered Ṣan'á' also, levying the poor-rate (*zekát*) and the fifths. He then began to tyrannize; on which he was expelled, with all Shí'iy sectaries, the Sunniyy inhabitants of Ṣan'á' regaining thus their old ascendancy.

In this same year, A.H. 439 (A.D. 1047), 'Aliyy b. Muḥammed Ṣulayḥiyy (the 'Solahie' of Playfair, p. 85) raised his standard at Mesár (N.W. from Ṣan'á') in Yemen, of the greater part of which he shortly made himself master. He was of the Shí'a belief, and proclaimed the Fátimite caliph of Egypt, Mustanşir b. Dháhir, in the public prayers. He took Zebíd, murdered its prince, and was acknowledged from Mekka to Ḥaḍramawt by A.H. 455 (A.D. 1063). The year following, A.H. 456, he appointed as governor of Zebíd a certain 'Es'ad b. Shiháb, whose sister 'Esmá' he had married, and she had brought him a dower of 100,000 gold ducats. 'Es'ad was to pay Ṣulayḥiyy a million ducats yearly, and bear all administrative expenses of his province besides.

Ṣulayḥiyy was murdered, in A.H. 459 (A.D. 1066), at Mehjem, as he was on his way to Mekka, having left his son Mukrem as regent at Ṣan'á'. They who killed him were two sons of the murdered prince of Zebíd, of whom one, named Sa'id the Squinting, took possession of the wife and treasures of Ṣulayḥiyy, entered Zebíd, and kept 'Esmá' in confinement.

After a time she found means to write to her son Mukrem at Şan'á', who at once collected forces, retook Zebíd, and set his mother free. Sa'íd the Squinting fled to Dehlek, an island on the coast of Abyssinia.

Mukrem had a wife, a cousin of his own, named Seyyida Hürre, to whom he now made over the whole of the state affairs, and gave himself up to pleasure. She left him at Şan'á', and went herself to Jubla, the lower Yemen city of the Two Rivers. His mother 'Esmá' died in A.H. 479 (A.D. 1086) at Şan'á', and he then followed his wife to Jubla, where they again lived together.

In A.H. 481 Seyyida Hürre planned the destruction of Sa'íd the Squinting by enticing him to attack Jubla from Zebíd, of which he had regained possession. She had prepared an army; and when Sa'íd marched to attack Jubla, her forces retook Zebíd and followed Sa'íd towards Jubla. As he was approaching Ta'ker he was hemmed in between two bodies of troops, defeated, and slain.

Mukrem died in A.H. 484 (A.D. 1091), and in A.H. 485 the city of Şan'á', with its dependencies, was seized by Sultan Hâtım b. Ghusheym, Mughallisiyy, Hemdáníyy. Mukrem's widow, the Seyyida Hürre, now made Mufađđal b. 'Ebí Berekát b. Welíd Himyeriyy, her agent for directing affairs, whose father had been Mukrem's commandant at Ta'ker, while his uncle, 'Ebú'l-Futúh b. Welíd, was governor of Ta'izz. He and an elder brother had successively been commandants at Ta'ker after their father. His brother was killed by one of the 'Ulemá' as a heretic of the 'Ismá'liyya sect, and Mufađđal showed himself an enemy of the 'Ulemá' in consequence. He dug a canal from Hanwa to Jened, repaired the mosque of Jened, and forced the lords of 'Aden to pay half its revenue to his mistress, the Seyyida Hürre. Ta'ker was the treasury of the house of Sulayhiyy, and the Seyyida used to live there in summer.

In A.H. 504 (A.D. 1110) Mufađđal sent a force to assist a brother of the lord of Zebíd against the latter. He took Zebíd, but Mufađđal then plotted to get rid of him. But news came that Ta'ker itself had been surprised with all its treasures, and with

the family of Mufaḍḍal, by one of the 'Ulemá.' Mufaḍḍal laid siege to it, but the women of his family were made to mount on to the roof of his palace and play on tambourines. When he witnessed this indignity he is said to have died of vexation, or to have sucked poison from a ring he wore. The castle was peacefully restored to the Seyyida, who appointed in his place a cousin of Mufaḍḍal's, who was murdered in A.H. 514 (A.D. 1120) at Ta'izz.

But before that, in A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116), a certain 'Aliyy b. Nejību'd - Dewla had come to Yemen from Egypt as missionary to call the people to obey the Fāṭimite caliph. He acted with prudence, and the Seyyida received him at her court. A body of horse was sent to him from Egypt, with which he delivered the Seyyida from her native guards, who had become insolent towards her. She now gave him Jened as his place of residence. In A.H. 518 (A.D. 1124) he attacked Zebīd by the gate of Qūrtub; but his horse was wounded, and he returned to Jened. The year following he began to act insolently towards the Seyyida, who sent a levy to besiege him in Jened. She then, in A.H. 520 (A.D. 1126), sent money to the chiefs of her levy, with orders to her messengers to spread the report that it was a bribe given by the beleaguered 'Aliyy. Their retainers clamoured for a share, and disbanded when they were refused. 'Aliyy was then informed that his deliverance was a plot by the Seyyida, whom he had declared to have become incapable of managing affairs. He immediately rode to her and made his excuses.

In this same year, A.H. 520, another missionary came to Jubla from Egypt to preach the cause of the Fāṭimite caliph 'el-'Ámir-bi-'Aḥkámī'lláh. The new missionary was affronted by 'Aliyy, and he took steps to destroy 'Aliyy by calumniating him to the caliph, and by fabricating false coins with the name of Nizár (Berar of D'Herbelot, *voce* Mostansir) on them, as though struck by 'Aliyy in the interest of Nizár. The caliph sent an envoy to bring 'Aliyy to Cairo. The Seyyida refused at first to give him up. But her councillors suggested that she

would be denounced as a Nizárite. On this she sent him to the caliph, and also costly presents, begging that he might be graciously dealt with. No sooner was he out of Jubla than they fettered him, carried him to 'Aden, placed him on board a ship of Sewákin, and threw his secretary into the sea. The Seyyida appointed another in his place, in whose term of office the caliph Ámir was murdered in A.H. 524 (A.D. 1129), and Háfídh succeeded him.

The Seyyida appointed to the office of missionary in Yemen for the new caliph a certain Zurey' b. 'Abbás Yámiyy, whose family continued in the office a considerable time. She died in A.H. 532 (A.D. 1137), aged 88, and was buried at the mosque she had built in Jubla. All her castles, with her treasures, were taken possession of by Manşúr b. Mufaḍḍal b. 'Ebí Berekát b. Welíd, Himyeriyy, who, when old and in need of repose, sold twenty-eight of those castles and towns for 100,000 ducats to the missionary Muḥammed b. Seba' b. 'Ebí-Mes'úd. Among them were Jubla, Ta'ker, 'Ibb, Ḥabb, etc. He withdrew to Ta'izz and Şabir, being the first prince who resided at Thu'bat as a retreat. He died in A.H. 542 (A.D. 1147), and his son 'Aḥmed succeeded him until A.H. 558 (A.D. 1162), when Mehdiyy b. 'Aliyy b. Mehdiyy rose to power in the low seaboard country, who bought from him Ta'izz, etc. 'Aḥmed retired himself to Jened, and died in A.H. 563 (A.D. 1167). With him ended the Şulayḥiyy dynasty and its offsets.

When Sultan Hátim b. Ghusheym seized Şan'a' and its dependencies in A.H. 485 (A.D. 1092), as above-mentioned (p. 13), he had three sons—Muḥammed, 'Abdu'llah, and Ma'n. The first was brave and active, but killed all the wives he loved. At length he married a Şubayḥiyya princess, and his father threatened to put him to death if he killed her. Both events came to pass before very long. When Hátim died in A.H. 502 (A.D. 1108), he was succeeded by his second son for two years, and then his third son, Ma'n b. Hátim, became king. But the tribe of Hemdán now raised seditions, and the country fell a prey to factions for a time, until, in A.H. 533 (A.D. 1138),

they made the Sultan Ḥamīdu'd-Dewla Ḥátim b. 'Aḥmed, of the Yám tribe (Yámiyy), king over them, and he ruled in prosperity.

In his days, however, the 'Imám 'el-Mutewekkilu 'ala'lláh arose and gained possession of Nejrán, the Jewf, and the ridge-country of the Dháhir. By degrees the tribes flocked to his standard, as the Benú-Shiháb, the people of Ḥaḍúr, Medhḥij, and Khawlán. He then advanced to attack the Sultan Ḥátim b. 'Aḥmed in the year A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150), from Dhemári's-Serera in the land of Senḥám. A battle was fought in Serera, in which Hemdán was beaten. Sultan Ḥátim took to flight, and the 'Imám's forces pursued him in the direction of Ṣan'á'. Ḥátim entered the city, but the inhabitants espoused the cause of the 'Imám, whose name was 'Aḥmed b. Suleymán, though he had assumed the title of Mutewekkil, as stated above. The Sultan went out to receive the victor, and the 'Imám addressed him, saying: "Sultan of the Arabians, we pardon thee." He treated the Sultan with honour and kindness, until Ḥátim went to Maudher and Hemdán dispersed. After a while, Ḥátim went to Dhafer, and remained there until the levies of the Sherífs had dispersed also. He then summoned Hemdán again, and advanced with them against Ṣan'á'. The 'Imám went forth thence and camped at Birásh, fortifying himself there, and calling for assistance from the tribes. Ḥátim forestalled them, forced the 'Imám's camp, killed a number of his followers, and returned to Ṣan'á', taking possession of the sovereignty.

The 'Imám Mutewekkil now retired again to the Jenb country. The inhabitants were divided by blood-feuds, and the 'Imám sought to pacify these and unite the people. At this conjuncture Sultan Ḥátim rode out to them with a few followers, without infantry or baggage, and arrived near to Dhemár, finding there the whole of the clans of Jenb united with the 'Imám 'Aḥmed b. Suleymán, and ready to return for an attack on Ṣan'á'. When Sultan Ḥátim drew near, they said: "These are not horsemen of Hemdán." But they

ultimately recognized him as he rode into their midst holding his spear between his thigh and saddle, and thus addressed them: "Chiefs of the Arabians! Let me not be reproached behind my back, for God hath not given unto man two hearts or two faces." He then added: "We have come to you, Chiefs of the Arabians, on a matter honourable to you and a glory to us"; meaning, according to Khazrejiyy: "Our arrival among you is an honour to you, and the pacification of the country will be a glory to us." He offered to pay all bloodwits due among them; and he did so. The Sherífs then dispersed, and the Sultan returned to Şan'á'.

He died in A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161), and was succeeded by his son 'Aliyy b. Hátim, who captured Dhemermer, Kewkebán, and 'Arús, whereas Birásh, Dhafer, and Qidda had belonged to his father Hátim. He took Bukur also, which he repaired and strengthened. Later, he obtained possession of the two Dháhirs, Upper and Lower; of the Jewf, of Şa'da, and of the whole Maghárib (west countries). The Benú-Shiháb were at times submissive to him; at times, rebellious. His dominion extended over Haḍúr, Maghárib, and the rocky district of Haráz.

In A.H. 561 (A.D. 1165) a certain Sultan Hátim b. 'Ibráhím Hamídiyy rebelled against Sultan 'Aliyy b. Hátim, and was joined by numbers of Hemdán, who escorted him from Haráz to Rey'án; but they fled to Kewkebán, then in the hands of the Benú'z-Zewwájiyy. The Sultan 'Aliyy pursued them, devastated Shibám, and then besieged Kewkebán for three whole years until he expelled them and obtained possession of the fortress from 'Ebú'n-Núr b. 'Aliyy Zewwájiyy in the year A.H. 564 (A.D. 1168). The year after, he took Beyt 'Izz from a family of Hemdán, who had held it since the extinction of the Şulayhiyy dynasty. In the latter part of this year, A.H. 565 (A.D. 1169), war broke out between the 'Imám Mutewekkíl 'Aḥmed b. Suleymán and the Sherífs of the house of Qásim in the Dháhir. The 'Imám was made prisoner, and was carried by them to the castle of 'Enáfith. His sons came



to the Sultan 'Aliyy b. Ḥatīm, and begged him to procure the release of their father. He wrote to the family of Qásim, and they set the 'Imám free. He went to Ḥawth, and after a time came to the Sultan, thanked him, and begged his aid against the house of Qásim. The Sultan granted his request, and the 'Imám eventually returned to Shibám, where he died in A.H. 566 (A.D. 1170).

In A.H. 568 (A.D. 1172) the whole of the Dháhír country submitted to the Sultan; but about this date the Ghuzz Kurds in Dhemár began to acquire power, and in A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173) Sultan Mu'adhdham Shemsu'd-Dewla Túrán-Sháh, brother of the great Sultan Násir Ṣaláḥu'd-Dín (Saladin) b. 'Eyyúb, conqueror of Egypt, Syria, and Western Arabia, set foot in Yemen.

When Ṣulayḥiyy, in A.H. 439 (A.D. 1047), took possession of the country as above related (p. 12), and seized 'Aden also, he found there as rulers a family of the children of Ma'n b. Ḥatīm b. Ghusheym (p. 15). Their authority extended over Lahj, 'Ebyen, and Ḥaḍramawt. Ṣulayḥiyy confirmed them in this position.

At the marriage of Mukrem, son of Ṣulayḥiyy, with the princess Seyyida Ḥurra, he gave to her as her dower the revenues of 'Aden, which the sons of Ma'n paid over to her thereafter, until Ṣulayḥiyy was murdered. They then withheld it. Mukrem drove them out, and gave 'Aden to 'Abbás and Mes'úd, two sons of a certain Mukrem Hemdániyy, who had given his assistance at the capture of Zebíd (p. 13) and the deliverance of his mother. He assigned the land-gate of 'Aden and the fort of Ta'ker at 'Aden to 'Abbás, while he bestowed on Mes'úd the sea-gate and fort Khaḍrá'. They were to pay her dower, as of old, to the Seyyida, his wife. This amounted yearly to a hundred thousand ducats, more or less. At the death of 'Abbás, his son Zurey' succeeded him, whose uncle Mes'úd continued as before.

In A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087) Zurey' took possession of Dumluwa; but he and his uncle were both killed in the fight against Zebíd.

by Mufaḍḍal in A.H. 504 (A.D. 1110, p. 13). Their two sons became joint rulers of 'Aden, and attempted to withhold her dower from the Seyyida, but were defeated. It was then agreed that they should pay her half the revenue, 50,000 ducats yearly. They again defaulted, and were a second time defeated, but the Seyyida reduced their contribution to 25,000 ducats per annum. Later on they withheld even this.

At their deaths their sons succeeded, each to his share as above; but the grandson of Zurey' was also lord of Dumluwa, Sámig, Maṭrán, Yumeyn, Dhubhán, part of Ma'áfir, and part of Jened. The two cousins quarrelled at last; and the lord of Dumluwa, Seba' b. 'Ebí's-Su'úd b. Zurey', prevailed and took possession of 'Aden, dying there soon afterwards, in A.H. 532 (A.D. 1137), the year of the death of the Seyyida Hurra (p. 15). His son 'Aliyy 'A'azz succeeded, and died in A.H. 534 (A.D. 1139), when his brother Muḥammed became prince of 'Aden.

In A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152) he bought for 100,000 ducats, of Sultan Maṣṣúr b. 'Ebí Berekát, the whole of his country (p. 15), and went up to Ta'ker of Jubla, over against Ḥabb. He died at Dumluwa in A.H. 548 (A.D. 1153), and was carried to Mekka to be buried there. He left three sons, of tender age, who were watched over by the eunuch 'Ebú'd-Durr Jewher Mu'adhḥamiyy, and 'Aden was held by Yásir b. Bilál b. Jerír until Sultan Mu'adhḥam Shemsu'd-Dewla Túrán-Sháh took possession of all Yemen in A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173), as before mentioned (p. 18). Yásir then went also to Dumluwa, which was eventually sold to Sultan Seyfu'l-'Islám Tugh-Tekín b. 'Eyyúb, as is related below (p. 23). After a time Yásir went *incognito* to 'Udeyna, but was betrayed to Sultan Túrán-Sháh, who put him to death in A.H. 571 (A.D. 1175). This line of princes at 'Aden were known as the Benú'dh-Dhi'b, successors to the Benú's-Ṣulayḥiyy.

As is mentioned above, the first prince to enter Yemen of the family of the Benú 'Eyyúb was Sultan Melik Mu'adhḥam Shemsu'd-Dewla Túrán-Sháh, who was deputed to conquer it

by his brother and sovereign, the great Şaláhu'd-Dín (Saladin of the Crusaders), after he had made himself master of Egypt and Syria, putting an end to the line of schismatic Fátimiyy caliphs in Cairo, and restoring the supremacy there of the orthodox 'Abbásiyy caliphs of Baghdád.

Şaláhu'd-Dín was informed that an impostor named 'Abdu'n-Nebiyy b. Mehdiyy had possessed himself of Yemen, and had given out that he was about to extend his sovereignty over the whole earth. Şaláhu'd-Dín in consequence sent his brother Túrán-Sháh to quell this imposture in the year A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173). Some say that the caliph was written to on the subject from Yemen, and that he invited Şaláhu'd-Dín to the enterprise.

Túrán-Sháh entered Zebíd that year, A.H. 569; and 'Ibnu'l-Mehdiyy was either killed or imprisoned till he died. Jened, Ta'izz, and 'Aden were then occupied. The princes of 'Aden were taken, the Mikhláf-Ja'fer invaded, the fortress of Ta'ker seized, the pass of Naqíl-Sayd surmounted, and Dawrán approached. In a battle near there the tribes of Jenb were brought to terms, and the castle was taken. On the way thence towards Dhemár the tribes of Jenb again opposed him, but Dhemár was occupied. Şan'á' was now made for; but the Jenb tribes, and their allies, again interposed. They were beaten with heavy losses, and pursued to Hezzán.

When Túrán-Sháh encamped near Şan'á', the chief inhabitants came out to welcome him, and the city was then entered. Sultan 'Aliyy b. Hátim was then at Birásh, and his brother Bishr b. Hátim at 'Azzán. Túrán-Sháh then took his way towards the low seaboard country westwards, and the tribes of Mount Bura' plundered his retinue of many camels laden with treasure, arms, and state paraphernalia. Sultan 'Aliyy b. Hátim now ordered Şan'á' to be dismantled and its best antiquities to be destroyed. Túrán-Sháh again left Zebíd for Jened and Mount Şabir. He received possession of the fort of Şabir, and captured those of Dakhr, Shirnáf, and 'Azzán of Dakhr, proceeding then to the Ma'áfir country, and taking the castles of Yumeyn, Muníf, and

Semdán. He now went against Dumluwa, of which the eunuch Jewher was in possession with the family of his former prince, 'Imrán b. Seba'; but he failed to reduce this stronghold, and returned to Jubla, continuing his journey thence to Zebíd.

He now obtained his brother's leave to return to Syria, and before quitting Yemen caused the three sons of the pretended Mehdiyy to be strangled, and Yásir b. Bilál, with his slave Miftáh, to be cut in two, in A.H. 571 (A.D. 1175). He also left governors—one at Zebíd for the western sea-coast, one at 'Aden, one at Ta'ker for Ta'izz, etc., and one at Jubla for its district. He marched by way of Şan'á, and on reaching 'Eshyah his treasures were plundered by a host of marauders.

He was appointed to Damascus by his brother Şaláhu'd-Dín, but returned to Alexandria and died there in A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178). By his brother's orders he was carried back to Damascus and buried in the college he had founded there in one of the suburbs. His governors in Yemen transmitted its revenues to him at Damascus as long as he lived.

At the death of Sultan Túrán-Sháh his deputies in Yemen disagreed among themselves and struck coin, each in his own name. Only, the governor of 'Aden seized Jubla also, and conquered Ḥaḍramawt, ruling over the whole until the arrival of Sultan Tugh-Tekín, when he fled to Damascus, where he eventually died in A.H. 588 (A.D. 1192).

Şaláhu'd-Dín, however, on his brother's death in A.H. 574, sent his own slave Khaṭalbé to be governor of Zebíd, and the governors of 'Aden, Ta'ker, and Ta'izz joined him to expel the brother of the governor left at Zebíd by Túrán-Sháh. The expelled man took refuge in a neighbouring castle, Qawárír. Khaṭalbé fell sick, recalled the expelled one, and appointed him governor, dying himself soon afterwards. The ruler of 'Aden now went against Zebíd a second time, and the governor retired anew to his refuge at Qawárír. This happened more than once, but Zebíd was not taken.

Şaláhu'd-Dín now appointed to be Sultan of Yemen another brother of his own, 'el-Meliku'l-'Azíz Seyfu'l-'Islám Tugh-Tekín.

He reached Zebíd with a thousand horsemen from Egypt in the latter part of A.H. 577 (A.D. 1181). The governor went out as far as Kedrá' to do him honour. A short time afterwards the governor asked permission to go to Egypt, and went a short distance out of Zebíd with his treasures. He then returned to the city to take formal leave, when he was seized, sent prisoner to Ta'izz, and his treasure confiscated. He was secretly put to death at Ta'izz in A.H. 579 (A.D. 1183).

The governor of Ta'ker, Yáqút Ta'izziyy, was confirmed by Sultan Tugh-Tekín, who then went up to Ta'izz, advanced to Jened, and received possession of Ta'ker itself. The governor of 'Aden fled away by sea, and was pursued; some of his treasures were captured, but he himself escaped. Another governor was appointed, and the whole of Yemen submitted to Sultan Tugh-Tekín Melik 'Azíz Seyfu'l-'Islám, with a few exceptions. Two sons of Sultan Hátim of the Zurey'iyy family, Ziyád, in Ḥabb, and 'Aliyy, in Birásh, still maintained themselves, though with difficulty.

Sultan Tugh-Tekín went to Mekka in A.H. 581 (A.D. 1185), leaving Ḥabb besieged. On his return he captured the place in A.H. 582 (A.D. 1186), and put to death all those of any standing found there. He then occupied the Jenb country, taking Hezzán and Dhemár.

Sultan 'Aliyy b. Hátim, being still at Birásh, now commanded the demolition of the tower of Ghumdán in Şan'á', and of the city walls, in A.H. 583 (A.D. 1187). He also burnt there all the stores of corn, and ordered the inhabitants to retire to the Jenb mountains. But a cousin of his made submission to Sultan Tugh-Tekín near Dhemár, and agreed to pay two hundred thousand ducats a year and a hundred stallion blood-horses.

Sultan Tugh-Tekín now returned to Yemen. He appointed to Dhemár the governor of Jubla, but the chiefs of Jenb collected against him, retook Dhemár, and pillaged the town. The garrison held out in the citadel, and sent to the Sultan at Jubla. He returned in haste, and the Jenb tribesmen dispersed with great loss in men and horses. He then took Yesar, returned to

Yemen, and ordered the siege of the castle of Qayḍán, belonging to a branch of the princely house of Ṣulayḥiyy. The siege lasted nine months; and when the place yielded, its lords stipulated to be allowed to join Sultan 'Aliyy b. Ḥátim.

Sultan Tugh-Tekín now besieged Dumluwa during the whole year A.H. 584 (A.D. 1188), it being held by the eunuch Jewher Mu'adhdhamiyy for the family of Zurey'iyy. When Jewher saw that the Sultan persevered in the siege he sold him the castle for ten thousand ducats, stipulating that it should not be entered until the family of his lords should have passed the seas with all their treasures. Disguised as a woman, he went with them to Abyssinia, leaving his secretary in the castle, and ultimately writing to the Sultan, with an inclosure ordering the secretary to deliver up the place. But the secretary now strove to hold it for himself. Sultan Tugh-Tekín renewed the siege, and the secretary at length sold the castle to him for ten thousand ducats and permission to retire in safety to Ṣan'á'.

The two sons of Ḥátim now repaired the castles of Dhemermer, Kewkebán, Dhafer, 'Arús, Faṣṣ, and 'Eshyah, storing them also with munitions. Sultan 'Aliyy b. Ḥátim had concluded a truce for two years with Sultan Tugh-Tekín for two hundred thousand ducats and a hundred horses. At the end of the period Sultan Tugh-Tekín advanced towards Ṣan'á', and on reaching Jehrán was met by an envoy, who renewed the truce for thirty thousand ducats and thirty horses, giving hostages for his good faith. But Sultan 'Aliyy would not ratify the conditions, and the envoy returned to try and obtain the liberation of the hostages. Sultan Tugh-Tekín set them at liberty, marched, took 'Eshyah, and then returned to Jehrán.

He now marched again to Ṣan'á' and Dhemermer, then to Faṣṣ, and again to the land of Himyer (Mount Ḥaḍúr); lastly against 'Arús. This last, however, he chivalrously relinquished in favour of a newborn prince of the place, whom they had named after him. He now went to Dhafer, returned to Ṣan'á', advanced and took the Lesser Faṣṣ, and then the Greater Faṣṣ, in which were the two sons of Sultan Bishr b. Ḥátim. He gave

them their liberty, and sent them to Dhemermer with their mother in all honour.

He then fought against Dhafer, and laid siege to Kewkebán, which he battered with ballistas. Its cession was proposed on condition that Sultan 'Aliyy b. Hátim should be allowed to possess 'Arúseyn as in the past, and this was accepted.

Sultan Tugh-Tekín now laid siege to Dhemermer, and pressed it for four years, as Sultan 'Aliyy b. Hátim defended it in person. At the end of that period, both parties grew tired of the struggle and the expense. A compact was therefore made, by which Sultan 'Aliyy gave up all his lands and castles in consideration of a yearly pension of five hundred ducats and five hundred measures (of corn).

Sultan Tugh-Tekín, Melik 'Azíz, Seyfu'l-'Islám, died in A.H. 593 (A.D. 1196), some say poisoned, after a reign of fourteen years. He was hard upon the owners of date-palms, and favoured corn-growing. It is said that he wished to become the sole landed proprietor in Yemen, and to lease out the land for rent, as is the custom in Egypt; but the people of Yemen did not like his idea, and opposed it strenuously.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Melik Mu'azz 'Ismá'íl, whom he had expelled from Yemen for his perversion from the orthodox faith, and who was on his way to Baghdád when his father's death occurred, but returned to Zebíd, thence to Ta'izz, and ultimately to Jubla.

In the same year, A.H. 593 (A.D. 1196), the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh b. Hámza, Hāsaniyy, proclaimed himself. He was a very learned man, a writer on various sciences, and possessed of a vast fund of erudition in Arabian poetry.

In A.H. 594 (A.D. 1197) Melik Mu'azz visited Şan'á, and put to death a slave whom his father had appointed viceroy there. He then made a pact with Sultan 'Aliyy b. Hátim, with the condition that the latter should yield obedience to him, and should possess Şan'á'. His brothers Bishr and 'Amr, sons of Hátim, went down to Yemen, where Melik Mu'azz put them in confinement. He then went up to Haql, on his way towards

Kewkebán, and by chance met the 'Imám, whom he defeated, and then entered Şan'á'.

He now publicly made a parade of his detestable religious perversion, withheld their pay from his troops, and squandered his means on poets and buffoons. He built in Zebíd the College of the Two Obelisks, and in Ta'izz that called Seyfiyya, in which his father was buried. He then proclaimed himself caliph, pretending to be descended from the house of 'Umeyya, whereas the family of 'Eyyúb in Egypt claimed descent from Qays-'Aylán of the race of Muḍar. The 'Imám and Sultan 'Aliyy b. Ḥátim now became allies; but when the former took Şan'á' he drove out the partizans of Sultan 'Aliyy, who then shut himself up in Dhemermer, and died there in A.H. 599 (A.D. 1202).

The bulk of the retainers of Melik Mu'azz were Kurds, and they resolved to kill him. He used to dress like the caliphs, in two shirts with very long and full sleeves, which were hung down to the ground from an upper window where he would be seated, and which were kissed by those who addressed him, as though they were kissing his hand. He one day rode out from Zebíd in the direction of Qawz, on a she-mule, and with his long sleeves descending below his hands, his led war-horse following. The Kurds attacked him, and he defended himself for a time with his mace. He then drew his sword; but his long sleeves were in the way, and he was killed in the year A.H. 598 (A.D. 1201), being interred in a mausoleum near at hand, south of Zebíd. His tomb was known as 'The Caliph's Cupola.' He had reigned about five years.

The 'Atá-Bek Seyfu'd-Dín Sunqur had fled from him to a castle in Hajja. But when Mu'azz was killed Sunqur returned to the brother of Mu'azz, an infant, whom Sunqur undertook to protect and educate as sovereign, by the title of Melik Náşir b. Tugh-Tekín. Hence Sunqur's title of 'Atá-Bek. Melik Náşir was at Ta'izz, and he restored the public Friday prayer (Khuṭba) for the 'Abbásiyy caliph of Baghdád. He pardoned the Kurds, and appointed their two chiefs as governors,



the one of Şan'á', the other of the whole west seaboard country (Tiháma), excepting Zebíd and Kedrá'.

The people of Şan'á' rose against the new governor and seized all the Kurds in the city, but the governor laid siege to it. The 'Atá-Bek came to Jublá in A.H. 599 (A.D. 1202), engaging the governor of Şan'á' to join him against the Kurds who kept possession of Zebíd. These came out to Qurtub to meet them. They were defeated, and the 'Atá-Bek became master of the whole seaboard country, with Zebíd.

In A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203) a shower of white ashes fell at Zebíd for twenty-four hours, followed by black ashes so dense that all was dark as night.

In A.H. 605 (A.D. 1208) the 'Atá-Bek made an attack on Beráqish, and several severe battles took place between the 'Imám and the governor of Şan'á'. They made peace at last on conditions onerous to the 'Imám. The governor, whose name was Werdshár, died at length at Semdán in A.H. 610 (A.D. 1213), the 'Atá-Bek Sunqur having predeceased him in A.H. 608 (A.D. 1211). He had built the Mu'azziyya mosque in Ta'izz, as also the 'Aşimiyya and the Raḥmáníyya mosques in Zebíd. He built, moreover, a mosque in Ḥanfer, and greatly added to that of Jened. He founded a college at Dhú Reym, near Ta'izz, in the precincts of which he was buried. The Sunquriyy corn-measure of Zebíd was so named after him.

Melik Náşir b. Tugh-Tekín now appointed as his wezír a certain Bedru'd-Dín b. Jebríl, who engaged him in an expedition against the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh b. Ḥamza; and on his arrival at Şan'á', poisoned him there, sent his corpse to Ta'izz, and had it interred in the mausoleum to the south of the parade-ground of the city. He now aimed at making himself king, and left Şan'á' to go towards Ta'izz. On his arrival at Saḥúl, the Arabian mountaineers surrounded his retinue and plundered his equipage. On his reaching 'Ibb, the mother of Náşir, who was in Ḥabb, incited her slaves to attack him. This they did in 'Ibb, killed him, carried his head to Ḥabb, and buried his headless corpse. Melik Náşir was killed in A.H. 611

(A.D. 1214). Sultan Hâtim b. 'Aḥmed then seized the castles of Beyt-Na'm, Qidda, Dhafer, Faṣṣ, and Maṣna'a; while the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh b. Ḥamza entered Ṣan'á', the Kurds quitting it for Birásh, and Suleymán b. Músá issued from Dhemár and seized Laḥj.

Then it was that Melik Mu'adh<sup>dh</sup>am Suleymán b. Taqiyyi'd-Dín 'Umer b. Shahinsháh b. 'Eyyúb, known as the Ṣúfiyy, came as a pilgrim to Mekka, and the mother of the murdered Náṣir, who had come to Ta'izz, sent and invited him to Yemen to protect her from the Arabian tribesmen, whom she dreaded. He accepted her offer, came to Ta'izz, and assumed the sovereignty in that same year, A.H. 611 (A.D. 1214). But he gave himself up to pleasure, and the 'Imám seized Dhemár, as also Kewkebán.

The Sultan of Egypt, Melik 'Ádil 'Ebú Bekr b. 'Eyyúb, being informed of the murder of both the sons of Sultan Tugh-Tekín in Yemen, now despatched his own grandson, Melik Mes'úd Ṣaláhu'd-Dín b. Kámil b. 'Ádil b. 'Eyyúb, with a numerous army and abundant treasure to rule over the country, he being then adolescent. The Sultan further appointed the eunuch Jemálu'd-Dín Fuleyt to be the young prince's 'Atá-Bek and general minister. They reached Zebíd in A.H. 612 (A.D. 1215), and the details of his reign of about seventeen years are related in Khazrejiyy's history, not requiring repetition here. The same may be said of the reigns of the first seven Resúliyy sovereigns, the last of whom died in A.H. 803 (A.D. 1400), and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sultan Melik Náṣir, 'Aḥmed b. 'Ismá'il, the eighth sovereign of the dynasty.

Previously to his own accession to the throne, Melik Náṣir had frequently represented his father Melik 'Eshref on state occasions. He reigned till A.H. 827 (A.D. 1424). During his rule a certain Sheykh Mu'awwaḍa b. Táji'd-Dín, ancestor of the succeeding dynasty of Sultans in Yemen, the Benú-Ṭáhir, died in A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410), and his son, Ṭáhir b. Mu'awwaḍa, paid a visit to Sultan Melik Náṣir in A.H. 818 (A.D. 1415). He was graciously received by the sovereign.

Two years later, A.H. 820 (A.D. 1417), the 'Imám, lord of

Şan'á', made an attack on Ṭáhir b. Mu'awwaḍa, but the Sultan went to the assistance of his friend and vassal, and the 'Imám was defeated.

In A.H. 822 (A.D. 1419) the Sultan's brother Ḥasan b. 'Ismá'íl rose in rebellion, but was taken and put in prison. Being pardoned, he again rebelled, was a second time made prisoner, and his eyes put out.

The year following Melik Násir built a new seaside residence at the old village of Fáza on the coast of Zebid. He died in A.H. 827 (A.D. 1424), and was succeeded by his son Melik Maṣṣúr, 'Abdu'lláh b. 'Aḥmed, who reigned but three years.

His place was taken in A.H. 830 (A.D. 1427) by his younger brother, Melik 'Eshref 3 'Ismá'íl b. 'Aḥmed, under whom the grandees ruled and quarrelled. He reigned little more than a year, and was succeeded by his uncle Melik Dháhir b. Yaḥyá b. 'Ismá'íl in A.H. 831 (A.D. 1427).

Melik Dháhir reigned nine years, dying in A.H. 842 (A.D. 1438). In his time a dreadful famine overspread Yemen and the opposite coast of Africa, while volcanoes repeatedly broke out in the islands lying between Kemerán and Dehlek, being seen in Surdud and heard at Luḥayya.

His son, Melik 'Ismá'íl, succeeded, but died in A.H. 845 (A.D. 1441), and was the last real king of the Resúliyy dynasty, being nominally succeeded by Melik Muḍḥaffer, Yúnus b. Maṣṣúr. The slave guards rebelled, and set up a prince 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed b. 'Ismá'íl b. 'Aḥmed, whom they styled Melik Mufaḍḍal. They then chose another, 'Aḥmed Násir, a great-grandson of Sultan Melik Mujáhid, 'Aliyy b. Dáwúd. Lastly, in A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443) Melik Mes'úd was placed on the throne when only 13 years old, the Benú Ṭáhir having already become rulers of Laḥj. In A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445) they occupied Ta'izz; but in A.H. 854 (A.D. 1450) Melik Mes'úd retook it.

In A.H. 858 (A.D. 1453) two of the Benú Ṭáhir, 'Aliyy and 'Ámir, sons of Ṭáhir b. Mu'awwaḍa b. Táji'd-Dín, of the tribe of Qureysh and house of 'Umeyya, descendants of the Caliph

of Damascus, 'Umer b. 'Abdi'l-'Azíz, took 'Aden, and Melik Mes'úd retired for good to Mekka, so ending the very name of the Resúliyy dynasty in Yemen. 'Aliyy assumed the title of Melik Mujáhid Shemsu'd-Dín, and 'Ámir that of Melik Dháfir Şaláhu'd-Dín.

In A.H. 859 (A.D. 1454) the chief people of Zebíd invited 'Aliyy to go there. He raised a force in his own country, Juben (lat. 13° 55' N., long. 45° 20' E.), went to Ta'izz, and thence to Zebid, in A.H. 861 (A.D. 1456), without opposition.

In that same year, A.H. 861, Melik Dháfir Şaláhu'd-Dín 'Ámir captured Şan'á', of which he left a governor in charge, and returned to Ta'izz. The 'Imám found an opportunity to reoccupy Şan'á', but then acted in so tyrannical a manner towards the inhabitants that they put themselves in communication with Melik Dháfir, and he set out for that city. The 'Imám's governor of the place, Muḥammed b. Náşir, sallied out to meet the enemy, and fought a hotly contested battle, in which Melik Dháfir was killed, A.H. 870 (A.D. 1464).

In A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467) volcanoes again broke out in the islands of the Red Sea, and destructive fires occurred in Zebíd. In A.H. 877 (A.D. 1472) Melik Mujáhid 'Aliyy b. Ṭáhir abdicated in favour of his nephew 'Abdu'l-Wehháb b. Dáwúd b. Ṭáhir, who took the title of Melik Manşúr Táju'd-Dín. In A.H. 882 (A.D. 1477) the Sherif of Mekka, Muḥammed b. Berekát, took the seaport town of Jázán (lat. 16° 50' N., long. 42° 40' E.); and in the year following Melik Mujáhid died at his native place, Juben.

In A.H. 886 (A.D. 1481) the great mosque at Medína was burnt to the ground by lightning, and was rebuilt by the Memlúk Sultan, Qayt-Báy, of Egypt. In A.H. 887 (A.D. 1482) a great flood invaded the Ka'ba at Mekka, the water rising up to the padlock on its door.

In A.H. 894 (A.D. 1488) Melik Dháfir Şaláhu'd-Dín 'Ámir b. 'Abdi'l-Wehháb b. Dáwúd b. Ṭáhir came to Zebíd, and his father, 'Abdu'l-Wehháb, died at Juben. In A.H. 895 (A.D. 1489) Melik Dháfir took Dhemár. In A.H. 900 (A.D. 1494) Táju'd-Dín

'Abdu'l-Melik was born; and in A.H. 902 (A.D. 1496) Qayt-Báy, Sultan of Egypt, died.

Now begins the story of European intercourse with the East by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. In A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504) a Portuguese ship made its way to the Red Sea from the east, and two years later Albuquerque took the Curia Muria Islands, Muscat, and some other adjacent places; while in A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510) the Sultan of Egypt, Qan-Şu Ghúriyy, Melik 'Eshref Seyfu'd-Dín, seized Zeyla', and laid the Arabian trade, as also that of Abyssinia, under direct contribution. In A.H. 919 (A.D. 1513) Albuquerque was repulsed in an attempt to capture 'Aden by ships. He then went to the Red Sea, tried his strength, and failed against Mocha, but wintered at the island of Kemerán, and returned to India the year following.

In A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516), Albuquerque being dead, his successor, Lope Soarez, prepared an expedition for the Red Sea, where Qan-Şu Ghúriyy had assembled a fleet under Selmán Re'ís, a Turk of Mitylene. Selmán failed also in an attack on 'Aden, but took most of the Red Sea ports of Yemen. The Sheríf of Mekka, Berekát b. Muḥammed b. Berekát, paid a visit to Egypt, was appointed by the Memlúk Sultan his governor of Şan'á', and proceeded thither to prepare an army for co-operation with the fleet. The ruler of 'Aden now tendered his submission to Soarez; but the latter proceeded to the Red Sea, effected next to nothing, lost ships in a storm, and returned to India.

In A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517) the Ottoman emperor, Sultan Selím I, overthrew the power of Egypt. Qan-Şu Ghúriyy died after the battle he lost near Aleppo. Damascus was taken and Cairo fell, where a Sultan, Tumán-Báy, had been set up, the last of Egypt's Memlúk rulers. He was hanged after an attempt at revolt. Sultan Selím I returned to Constantinople, and died there the next year. He took with him from Cairo the caliph who had been supported in Egypt as a descendant and successor to a scion of the Baghdád house of 'Abbás, supposed to have escaped the hordes of Chingíz and thrown himself on the loyalty of the Memlúk Sultan of that time. This caliph abdicated in

favour of Sultan Selím and his Ottoman posterity, who have ever since been universally accepted as the sole legitimate orthodox caliphs of the whole world of 'Islám. In the west, Morocco; and in the east, Persia; with a certain number of small Shí'yy princes in Arabia and India, with Zanzibár, alone reject the claim.

In A.H. 945 (A.D. 1538) an Ottoman fleet in the Red Sea, under Suleymán the Eunuch, Pasha of Egypt for the Sultan-Caliph, sailed from Suez for Yemen, took possession of 'Aden, and proceeded to Cambay in India; but, meeting with strenuous resistance from the Portuguese, returned to Yemen, and obtained possession of the whole seaboard country, Zebíd, etc.; then, by degrees, the Ottoman forces conquered the mountainous region also, with Şan'á', etc. The Sheríf of Mekka made submission, and was confirmed.

In A.H. 947 (A.D. 1540) the Portuguese advanced up the Red Sea to Suez, but were repulsed by the Ottomans. They captured 'Aden, however, but again lost it when Pírí Pasha, Ottoman Admiral of the Red Sea, attacked the place. In A.H. 1008 (A.D. 1599) Hasan Pasha, Ottoman Governor-General of Yemen, succeeded in reducing or conciliating the whole province.

In A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609) the first visit of an English ship to Yemen took place. A Captain Sharpey then anchored at 'Aden, and went afterwards to Mocha. The year after, A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610), Admiral Middleton visited both places, and after a time was commissioned to go to Şan'á'. There he was kept waiting more than a month, was allowed to return to Mocha, went on board, and ultimately left.

In A.H. 1021 (A.D. 1612) three other English ships arrived at Mocha under Captain Saris.

In A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614) a Dutch fleet under Van den Broeck came to the Red Sea, visited 'Aden, and established a factory at Shahr. In A.H. 1025 (A.D. 1616) he proceeded to Mocha, and founded a factory there also. He visited Şan'á', but could not obtain permission to trade permanently. He therefore removed his factories and sailed to India.

In A.H. 1028 (A.D. 1618) Captain Shilling visited Mocha by desire of Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador to the 'Great Mogul,' and founded a factory. But in A.H. 1040 (A.D. 1630) the Ottomans saw fit to evacuate Yemen, as being too distant, troublesome, and expensive to hold.

The country then fell into the hands of the family of 'Ebú Berekát, the former Sherif of Mekka. Qásim the Great assumed the title of Seyyid; but his son 'Ismá'íl, on succeeding, took that of 'Imám Mutewekkil 'ala'lláh. As has already been seen, 'Imám is the title assumed by Shí'iy sovereigns or princes who claim a spiritual supremacy over their little world of 'Islám, as that of Khalífa is taken by the orthodox Sunniyy successor or substitute to the great lawgiver.

The 'Imám Mutewekkil, 'Ismá'íl b. Qásim, reigned thirty-three years, residing chiefly, and being buried, at Dúrán. He was succeeded by a cousin in A.H. 1087 (A.D. 1675); and then, for a time, great confusion prevailed through rival, contending 'Imáms, until the French first visited Yemen. They touched at 'Aden, and arrived at Mocha in January, A.D. 1709 (A.H. 1121), where a treaty was concluded with the Governor, in the name of the 'Imám Mehdiyy, Muḥammed b. 'Aḥmed.

In A.D. 1712 (A.H. 1124) another French expedition reached Mocha. The 'Imám Mehdiyy, being very old and in failing health, invited a surgeon to visit him at his capital, Mewáhib ('Moat' of maps, lat. 14° 40' N., long. 44° 30' E.). The party traversed Mewza', Jubla, Yerím, and Dhemár, arriving at Mewáhib, where they remained three weeks.

A series of rival 'Imáms now again distracted the country, following one another in rapid succession. In A.D. 1738 (A.H. 1151) a dispute arose with the French at Mocha. They besieged the town, and by means of the first shell fired in those parts cowed the Governor and obtained their object.

Again intestine troubles broke out, and rival 'Imáms, or rebels, contested for supremacy. The principality of 'Ebú 'Arísh secured its independence, as Niebuhr found it in A.D. 1763 (A.H. 1177). He visited the 'Imám Mehdiyy 'Abbás at Ṣan'á'

in that year. This 'Imám died in A.D. 1774 (A.H. 1188), and was succeeded by his son Maṣṣūr 'Aliyy.

When the French under Bonaparte invaded Egypt in A.D. 1799 (A.H. 1214), a fleet was sent by England to cruise in the Red Sea. The rock of Perim was occupied for a time, but abandoned as useless and untenable through a want of fresh water. The English trade in Arabian coffee had then become almost extinct; but the coffee of Yemen was still exported by sea to Egypt, and by caravan overland throughout Syria and Asia Minor to Constantinople and Europe. When General Baird landed at Quṣayr (Cosseir), on the Red Sea coast of Egypt, Commodore Sir Home Popham was ordered to do all he could to revive the trade; and in A.D. 1802 (A.H. 1217) was commissioned as Ambassador to the States of Arabia. He did not succeed in accomplishing this object, and returned to India.

In A.D. 1804 (A.H. 1219) the Wehhábiyy schismatics from Nejd in Central Arabia occupied Mekka and Medína; and a chieftain of the Benú 'Asír, nicknamed 'Ebú Nuqta (Father Spot), through his having lost one eye, joined the Wehhábiyy invaders, and possessed himself of the whole Red Sea coast of Yemen, up to the gates of Mocha. Lord Valentia visited Yemen in A.D. 1805 (A.H. 1220), and found the 'Imám 'Aliyy, Maṣṣūr, near his dotage.

In A.D. 1809 (A.H. 1224) the Sheríf of 'Ebú 'Arísh, Sheríf Ḥamúd, induced the eldest son, Seyyid 'Aḥmed, of the old 'Imám, to take the government into his own hands; and on the death of the father somewhat later in the year, the Seyyid assumed the title of 'Imám Mutewekkíl.

The power of the schismatic Wehhábiyy fanatics lasted until Muḥammed 'Aliyy, Ottoman Governor-General of Egypt since the final expulsion of the French, was commissioned by the Sultan-Caliph to drive them from the Ḥijáz. In A.D. 1813 (A.H. 1229) he attacked the invaders, and took steps to restore all Yemen definitively to the dependency on Egypt from which it had become emancipated under the Resúliyy dynasty and



some of their successors. In A.D. 1817 (A.H. 1233) the 'Imám Mehdiyy 'Abdu'lláh succeeded his father Mutewekkil 'Aḥmed; and in A.D. 1819 (A.H. 1235) the Pasha of Egypt at length took possession of Qunfudha, 'Ebú 'Arish, Luḥayya, Ḥudeyda, and other coast towns of Yemen; but he restored them all again to the 'Imám in consideration of a yearly tribute of a hundred thousand dollars. Later in that year a quarrel broke out between England and the 'Imám, but in A.D. 1821 (A.H. 1237) a new treaty was concluded.

In A.D. 1832 (A.H. 1248) the Pasha of Egypt became a rebel, and invaded Syria, with part of Asia Minor. One of his officers in the Ḥijáz, who was known by the nickname of Turkja-Bilmaz ('who knows not Turkish'), had been ordered to Yemen; but the rebel Pasha sent a certain general, 'Aḥmed Pasha, to seize that province. Turkja-Bilmaz carried all his troops to Yemen and gained possession of the whole sea-coast. But 'Aḥmed Pasha combined with the 'Imám against him, and having lost his army he was forced to fly, ultimately, from Mocha to Bombay. 'Aḥmed Pasha occupied the sea-coast towns, and also the small island of Muṣawwa' ('Massowah' of maps) on the coast of Abyssinia.

In A.D. 1834 (A.H. 1250) the 'Imám Mehdiyy 'Abdu'lláh, having died, was succeeded by his son Manşúr 'Aliyy. In A.D. 1837 (A.H. 1253) Manşúr and an uncle having disagreed, the latter sold Ta'izz, his seat of residence, to the Egyptians. A domestic feud soon afterwards occasioned the dethronement of the 'Imám Manşúr 'Aliyy, and he was succeeded by the 'Imám Náşir 'Abdu'lláh. In that same year the rebel Pasha of Egypt offered to buy Şan'á from the 'Imám Náşir, but the proposal was declined. In A.D. 1839 (A.H. 1255) Aden was taken possession of by England, as hereafter detailed.

In A.D. 1840 (A.H. 1256) 'Imám Náşir was in turn killed by his servants, when 'Aliyy Manşúr was released from confinement, but placed in retreat. An uncle was made 'Imám, with the name and title Muḥammed Hádí. In that year the Egyptian forces were suddenly recalled from Yemen, probably in

consequence of the alliance of England, Austria, Prussia, and Italy with the Sultan-Caliph, which forced them to evacuate Syria also after the capture of St. Jean d'Acre, though it made the rebel Pasha hereditary governor of Egypt, and though its consequences have brought about, eventually, all the Egyptian and Súdánese entanglements of the last twenty years.

Yemen was offered by the Egyptians to the Sheríf of Mekka, but the Sheríf of 'Ebú 'Arísh, Huseyn b. 'Aliyy, opposed the design and took possession, engaging to pay a tribute to Egypt. He appears to have been confirmed by the Sultan-Caliph. A steam frigate was sent from 'Aden to Mocha to protect British subjects. But Sheríf Huseyn not only insulted the officer in charge, he furthermore cut down the consul's flagstaff, and wrote to Bombay demanding the restitution of 'Aden. A pacific understanding was come to at Constantinople on the point, and the Ottoman sovereignty over Yemen was admitted. A Turkish commissioner was sent to that country, and Sheríf Huseyn acknowledged his dependence on the Sultan-Caliph, and offered to reinstate the flagstaff. In A.D. 1843 (A.H. 1259) he was created Huseyn Pasha by his sovereign as governor of the sea-coast country of Yemen, he paying a yearly tribute of seventy thousand dollars to the imperial treasury.

In A.D. 1844 (A.H. 1260) the 'Imám Hádí died, and the deposed Manşúr 'Aliyy was reinstated at Şan'á'. He made an effort to recover the lost provinces of Yemen, and marched against Qa'taba (lat. 14° 0' N., long. 44° 20' E.), whence he issued mandates for all the chieftains of that region to come in and do homage. Among others the Sheykh, or so-styled Sultan, of Lahj, neglected to do so. The 'Imám sent to 'Aden to enquire if there would be any objection to his occupation of Lahj and the country around. But intrigues at Şan'á' recalled him thither, and Sheríf Huseyn Pasha marched from Mocha and occupied Ta'izz, next taking Jubla and 'Ibb also. Fearing an Ottoman expedition from the Hījáz, he levied what contributions he could from his conquests, and retired to 'Ebú 'Arísh.

A new claimant now appeared, again deposed the 'Imám Maṣṣūr 'Aliyy, and himself took the title of 'Imám Mutewekkil. In A.D. 1848 (A.H. 1265) he defeated Sheríf Ḥuseyn Pasha, and made him prisoner. Mocha, Zebíd, and other places were surrendered to the victorious 'Imám, besides twenty thousand dollars in cash for Ḥuseyn's release. He recovered the whole in a short time, and the 'Imám, through treachery and desertion, was reduced to impotence at Ṣan'á'.

The Ottoman Government now resolved to vindicate its ancient title to the whole of Yemen, and in A.D. 1849 (A.H. 1266) an army appeared before Ḥudeyda. Sheríf Ḥuseyn Pasha gave up all his other possessions, retiring to 'Ebú 'Arísh. He died in A.D. 1851 (A.H. 1268) on a journey to Constantinople.

In that same year, 1849 (A.H. 1266), the Ottoman commander-in-chief, Tevfíq Pasha, received the 'Imám Mutewekkil at Ḥudeyda, where the 'Imám swore the fealty of a vassal to the Sultan-Caliph. The two then went to Ṣan'á', with a few Ottoman troops, to inaugurate the new arrangement and proclaim Sultan 'Abdu'l-Mejíd as universal orthodox Caliph of 'Islám. The people of Ṣan'á', chiefly of the Zeydiyya sect of Shí'iyy schismatics, flew to arms, killed all the Ottoman ~~soldiers they could seize, wounded the Pasha, and obliged~~ him to withdraw to Ḥudeyda with the remnant of his force. They then deposed the 'Imám Mutewekkil, and a second time reinstated the 'Imám Maṣṣūr 'Aliyy.

But in A.D. 1850 (A.H. 1267) a son of the 'Imám Mutewekkil possessed himself of Ṣan'á', again deposed Maṣṣūr 'Aliyy, and gave him his liberty. He took for himself the title of 'Imám Hádl, and went to live at Rawḍa, a few miles north from Ṣan'á', with merely nominal power, as the city people refused their allegiance to him, and this capital became a scene of anarchy.

This same year, A.D. 1850, the Ottomans were unsuccessful in supposed attempts to establish themselves at Shaḥr and other places east of 'Aden. Several Pashas were appointed and died in succession. In A.D. 1856 (A.H. 1273) the Sherif of Mekka,

'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, was sent prisoner to Constantinople, and another, Muḥammed b. 'Awn, installed in his stead; so that an edict of the Ottoman Government against the public sale and importation of slaves became a duly recognized fact in the Ḥijáz.

In A.D. 1869 (A.H. 1286) the Suez Canal was opened, whereby ships of commerce, as well as transports and men-of-war, can pass quickly between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. In consequence Ottoman military and naval forces left Constantinople in A.D. 1871 (A.H. 1287), with the purpose of proceeding to Arabia under the command of Re'úf Pasha, with a battery of breechloading seven-pounder steel Whitworth cannon; and other troops followed in quick succession.

Arriving at Jidda, it was decided in a council of war to attack the 'Asír country in the first instance, and a sufficient force was landed at the port of Qunfudha. The Sheykh of Ḥaly tendered his services, and provided camels for transport in the precipitous mountains. The strongly fortified town of Sewghá' was made the object of attack, about a hundred and sixty miles from Qunfudha in a south-east direction, and in the latitude of Ḥaly, at an elevation above the sea of about six to ten thousand feet. Sewghá' was soon reached and taken. Other strong posts were one by one captured, and the refractory chief of the 'Asír tribes, Muḥammed b. 'Á'id, with many of his family, was made prisoner. The expedition occupied only seventy days, and the 'Asír country was then portioned out into nine administrative districts—Maḥá'il, 'Ebhá, Reyda, Rijál-'Elma', Tenúma, Şabyá, Shaqíq, Ḥaly, and Qunfudha.

Re'úf Pasha, becoming altogether sick and lame through his zealous and self-sacrificing exposure on the bare mountain-tops during the whole campaign, was obliged to transfer the command to 'Ahmed Mukhtár Pasha, and returned to Constantinople. The new commander was confirmed by his sovereign, and appointed Governor-General of all Yemen.

In February of the following year, A.D. 1872 (A.H. 1288), after quelling several attempts at rebellion in the 'Asír

mountains, Mukhtár Pasha sailed from Haly for Hudeyda, a part of his forces proceeding by land and another remaining as garrison in the chief towns of the conquered region. By the end of April, Şan'á' was entered peaceably, though some slight opposition had been encountered at one point of the road, 'Atára, on Mount Haráz.

Some of the tribes around Şan'á' showed disaffection and were chastised. Dhemermer was taken and razed. Kewkebán was blockaded.

In June, Mount Reyma and the village of Jeby were occupied. In July, Tawíla, Thulá, and Maḥwít were taken possession of. In September a force was sent to Mocha, and thence advanced to Ta'izz, both being occupied without resistance. The siege of Kewkebán was brought to a close in November, the stronghold being taken.

The Yám and Hášhid tribes to the north of Şan'á' threatening to give trouble, they were attacked and routed in the neighbourhood of Reyda, when their chiefs, assembled at Khamir, still further north in a difficult country, broke up in despair. The Hášhid tribes tendered their submission, while the Yám people dispersed to their homes at some distance away northwards. By the middle of January, A.D. 1873 (A.H. 1289), the important castles of Kehlán and Meswer were occupied by the Ottoman forces. The tribes of Nehm were engaged as irregulars, and sent to serve in the districts of 'Ans, Jehrán, 'Utma, and the two Waşáb regions, between Şan'á', Ta'izz, and Zebíd.

An expedition was then organized for the occupation of the region lying between Şan'á' and Zebíd, with the outlying districts of Mount Reyma and Beytu'l-Faqíh. This was gradually accomplished, refractory chieftains removed, and the finances of the whole put in order. The central and chief parts of Yemen having been thus brought, in a few months, under the firm and equitable government of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan - Caliph, further attempts at rebellion or lawlessness could possess no basis of endurance,

and the province has, on the whole, since the period in question, been as submissive and peaceable as most other parts of this great and important empire.

To trace the history of the occupation of 'Aden by England, we must go back to the year A.D. 1728 (A.H. 1141), when the chief of the tribe 'Abdu'l-'Aliyy, by name Fuḍayl b. 'Aliyy, declared himself independent of the 'Imám of the period at Ṣan'á', the 'Imám Maṣṣúr, Ḥuseyn b. Qásim, who died in A.D. 1740 (A.H. 1153).

This chieftain, Sheykh Fuḍayl b. 'Aliyy, allied himself with the Sheykh of the Yáfi' tribe, his neighbour, and seized on 'Aden. He soon expelled his ally, but was himself killed in A.D. 1742 (A.H. 1155) by the Yáfi' tribe. He had styled himself Sultan of Lahj, and his son 'Abu'l-Kerím succeeded him, during whose rule 'Aden was governed by a trusted slave, probably a eunuch. In A.D. 1753 (A.H. 1167) this so-styled Sultan was blockaded in 'Aden for five months by the powerful chieftain of Ḥujriyya at that time, named 'Abdu'r-Rabb, who received a sum of money to raise the siege and retire. This Sultan died the same year, and his son 'Abdu'l-Hádí succeeded, who died in A.D. 1776 (A.H. 1190). His brother Fuḍayl succeeded, and died in A.D. 1792 (A.H. 1207); after whom, another brother, 'Aḥmed, became ruler. He governed prosperously for thirty-six years, dying in A.D. 1827 (A.H. 1243). He was visited by Mr. Salt in 1809, and by Capt. Haines in 1820. He it was who, in 1799, when Perim was evacuated by Colonel Murray, voluntarily received and most hospitably entertained him and his troops at 'Aden until they could proceed to Bombay. He also made a treaty of friendship and commerce with Sir Home Popham in 1802. Again, in 1804 he repelled a fleet of Wehhábiyy pirates, who attempted to attack, at 'Aden, a ship from India.

'Aḥmed was succeeded by his nephew Muḥsin b. Fuḍayl, who was deceitful, inhospitable, and avaricious. Capt. Haines again visited 'Aden in A.D. 1835 (A.H. 1251), being then on surveying service. Some of his officers visited the 'Sultan'

at Lahj. In A.D. 1836 (A.H. 1252) 'Aden was sacked by the Fuḍayliyy tribe.

A Madras ship under British colours, with a valuable cargo, and with Indian pilgrims for Mekka on board, went on shore in the bay of 'Gubbet Seylán,' north-east from 'Aden. She was plundered by crowds of Arabs, and her passengers were stripped. On this plea the Government of Bombay determined to obtain possession of 'Aden by purchase, if possible. Captain Haines was sent to demand redress, and to negotiate the purchase. The former was obtained, and a writing was received from the 'Sultan' with the promise to give over the peninsula of 'Aden in March, 1838, against a yearly allowance of 8,700 dollars.

But in October, 1838, the 'Sultan' refused to ratify his promise, and unpleasantness arose. 'Aden was blockaded, and skirmishes occurred. In January, 1839, two royal men-of-war arrived; and as the 'Sultan' still held out, the place was taken by assault, and the 'Sultan' escaped to Lahj. It was the first conquest in the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

In February, 1839, the 'Sultan' and the chiefs of various neighbouring tribes signed a treaty of peace. In June he received his first monthly stipend of 541 dollars. But in November, on his attempting to retake the place, he was defeated, and his pension stopped. In May, 1840 (A.H. 1256), he made a fresh attack, with a like result. In July, 1841, a third attempt was equally fruitless. The Arabs constructed a fort at a short distance, and cut off the communications of 'Aden with the interior. But they were easily overcome; peace was again made; the 'Sultan' visited 'Aden; and in February, 1844 (A.H. 1260), his stipend was restored, with back pay for one whole year. In November the 'Sultan' died at Lahj, and was succeeded by his son 'Ahmed b. Muḥsin, who died of smallpox in January, 1849. His brother 'Aliyy b. Muḥsin became ruler, and was the chief when Playfair wrote in 1859.

He was very unfriendly to the English. Unpleasant circumstances arose; murders were committed; and disturbances were

continual till the end of 1856, when peace was at length restored, and the officials of 'Aden visited Lahj as friends. In 1857, however, 'Sultan' 'Aliyy again began his intrigues, and early in 1858 hostilities broke out. The 'Sultan's' forces were routed, and he made his submission in March. With this incident the history of Playfair is brought to a close; but the opening of the Suez Canal has given an importance to 'Aden that cannot yet be estimated; and it is not improbable that its forts and harbour will make it another Gibraltar, though the stream of commerce between eastern Asia and western Europe may never again make of it the centre and entrepôt it was from the days of the Pharaohs to the times of the Resúliyy princes.





# THE PEARL-STRINGS.

NARRATIVES OF THE RESÚLIYY DYNASTY OF YEMEN.

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*TRANSLATION: PART I.*

CHAPTERS 1-5.



# THE PEARL-STRINGS.

NARRATIVES OF THE RESÚLIYY DYNASTY.

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## CHAPTER I.

*Lineage of the Princes of the Resúliyy Dynasty ; how the occasion arose for their entry into Yemen, and for their becoming independent Sovereigns there.*

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan the Khazrejite <sup>1</sup>:

The most noted princes of Yemen <sup>2</sup> as sovereigns in the time of paganism and of 'Islám <sup>3</sup> were the Ḥimyerite <sup>4</sup> and the Ghassánite <sup>5</sup> princes. For this reason it is said : "The Ḥimyerites were the Lords of the Arabians, and the Ghassánites Lords of the Princes."

And this happened because, when Seba' <sup>6</sup> the Greater was at the point of death he sent for his two sons Ḥimyer and Kehlán. Ḥimyer was the elder, and Seba' made him sit down on his right, while he seated Kehlán to his left. He then called for all his other sons, the sons of his uncle, and the chiefs of his people, and he said to them :

"Know ye that these are my two sons, the one to my right (motioning towards Ḥimyer), the other to my left (indicating Kehlán); and give ye to Ḥimyer, of my realm, that which befits the right hand; giving unto Kehlán, of my realm, what is suitable for the left hand."

Then they said: "The sword befits the right hand; also the whip, and the pen; the rein befits the left hand; also the shield,

and the bow." And they gave judgment that the possession of the sword, whip, and pen can be naught but a commander and forbiddor, an annuller or confirmer, the qualities of the supreme Prince; while the holder of the rein is the guider of the fleet horses in repelling from the State; that with the shield men are driven back in an encounter; and with the bow are obtained things desired and articles of food, even at a distance; these are suitable only for the guardian of the State, who stands up to do its battles and close all gaps in its frontiers.

So Hīmīyēr took upon his neck the sovereignty, which departed not from his children and his children's children; the same descending among them to the successor from a predecessor, until there arose Hārīth the R'ish.<sup>7</sup>

And Kehlán, with his children, undertook the guardianship of the territories, to repel attacks therefrom, and to keep closed its weak frontiers; the same descending among them to the eldest from the eldest, until the days of 'Ámir son of Hārīth the 'Ezdīte, surnamed Má'u's-Semá'i ('water of the sky'). He in the age of Hārīth the Rá'ish stood up for the protection of the territory and for the closing up of its exposed frontiers after the manners of his forefathers of (the line of) Kehlán.

Now Hārīth the Rá'ish was a soothsayer, who foretold the coming events of time, giving notice of what would happen before the occurrence thereof; and the matter would come about to the verification of his prediction. There are a number of poems of his on this subject; among them is one beginning as follows:—

f. 3" *"I am the crowned Prince, the giver of gifts; I have imported horses from the homes of the north.*

*I will go forth against the obstinate who ignore my station;  
of the sons of Yáfīth [Japhet], and of the race of Hám<sup>8</sup>  
[Ham].*

*The sons of Qahtán;<sup>9</sup> who then sought for kindness, conformed, and performed the pilgrimage to the House<sup>10</sup> in the sacred city.*

*With God's permission did they perform the pilgrimage, for it is a House successively inherited by the monarch from the monarch.*<sup>11</sup>

*And be ye like unto Mildhādh son of 'Amr, and Dhū-'Ins, the worthy nobles.*<sup>12</sup>

*And we are the most overpowering when we charge; and we are they who are in fear of every shameful thing.*

*And verily, on the day when we are wroth or contend for superiority, it wants but little for the earth to quake on men.*

*And if we are content, it keeps at rest with those upon it; and its face brightens after the gloom.*

*And among us is the sovereignty and the possession, by right; and we are the most noble sons of noble ones.*<sup>13</sup>

*Our forefather was Ya'rub,<sup>14</sup> and Seba'<sup>15</sup> was our ancestor; and we overcome, in just vaunting, whomsoever contends in vaunting, or in claiming superiority.*

*And if I perish, well, I have already established a kingdom for you, that will endure to the time of the Tihānite.*<sup>16</sup>

*And after us, from among us, princes will have the dominion; sons of most eminent ones, like the highest pinnacles of the clouds.*

*And after them, from among us, princes will succeed who will judge God's servants without failing.*

*And after this the blacks<sup>17</sup> will spread abroad, the eagles of God, among the people, mankind.*

*And after them, from among us, will princes reign,<sup>18</sup> weak of command, heavy of purpose.*

*And after them a prodigious man will have the rule, a prophet,<sup>19</sup> who will not be tolerant of what is unlawful.*

*He will quit his people;<sup>20</sup> and he will have a scripture,<sup>21</sup> the text of which will agree with reiterated sayings.*

*He will be named 'Ahmed.<sup>22</sup> Oh, would that I could be postponed to one year after his forthcoming!*

*And after him righteous Khalfas will rule, and the children of 'Amir<sup>23</sup> will possess dominion after them.*

*And his divinely-assisted banner will appear among them according to the numeral letters for 630 [٦٣٠ A.H.].*

- *And after will reign a man of high parentage,<sup>24</sup> unto whose forefathers be the most vivid gratulations."*

And sometimes it is more than what has been recorded above.

Now verily he hath foretold in this poem who should possess Yemen after himself of the line of Hîmyer and its sons by his words: "And if I perish, well, I have already established a kingdom for you that will endure to the time of the Tihámite." And it happened as he had foretold; the princes of the house of Qaḥṭán ceased not successively to inherit the realm of Yemen until there arose the empire of 'Islám. By his expression "the Tihámite" he intimated the Prophet (upon whom may God pour out His salutations and greetings).

And his words: "And after us, from among us princes will have the dominion; sons of most eminent ones, like the highest pinnacles of the clouds"; and it was as he had said, i.e., the princes who possessed Yemen after Hárith the Rá'ish and before the appearance of the Abyssinians.

And again his words: "And after this the blacks will spread abroad, the eagles of God, among the people, mankind"; and it was as announced, through the spread of the Abyssinians into Yemen and their domination therein. This domination of the Abyssinians in Yemen, according to what is related, lasted seventy-two years. Four men from among them successively held it; and these were (1) 'Eryát, (2) 'Ebreha, (3) Yeksúm son of 'Ebreha, (4) and lastly Mesrúq son of 'Ebreha.

- 1 And his words: "And after them, from among us, will princes reign, weak of command, heavy of purpose"; and it happened as he had spoken. These are the princes who ruled in Yemen after the empire of the Abyssinians; they are not like those

f. 4<sup>a</sup>

who preceded them of the princes of Hîmyer in the former age. And his saying: "And after them a prodigious man will have the rule, a prophet, who will not be tolerant of what is unlawful. He will quit his people; and he will have a scripture,

the text of which will agree with reiterated sayings. He will be named 'Aḥmed. Oh, that I could be let live for one year after his forthcoming!" And it was as he spake, through the manifestation of the Prophet (on whom may God vouchsafe salutations and greetings), and his going forth from Mekka to Medína, so forsaking his people, and taking up his abode in Medína among 'the supporters,'<sup>25</sup> until overtaken by death (on him may God bestow salutations and greetings). And his expression, "and he will have a scripture, the text of which will agree with reiterated sayings"; that is, a scripture will be sent down to him in the Arabic language, and written in the Arabian script; namely, the cherished Qur'án. God (who be exalted) hath spoken: "Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic reading"; and God (who be exalted) hath said, "in a plain Arabian idiom."

And his words: "And after him righteous Khalífás will rule"; and so it was as he said, by the uprising of the (four first) rightly-judging Khalífás after the Apostle of God (on whom may God bestow salutation and greeting), and by the rise of the Khalífás of the sons of 'Umeyya and of the sons of 'Abbás, and their possession of Yemen after the Apostle of God (on whom may God bestow salutation and greeting).

Next he gave notice of the appearance of the princes of (the line of) Ghassán<sup>26</sup> in Yemen, and of their dominion over it; so he said: "and the children of 'Ámir will possess dominion after them," meaning 'Ámir (son of Ḥáritha, the 'Ezdite), but curtailing the name through the necessity of the metre and rhyme, i.e. 'Ámir son of Ḥáritha son of 'Imru'u'l-Qays son of Tha'leba son of Me'rib son of 'Ezd son of Ghawth. He has indicated him alone, to the exclusion of all but him, of those who preceded or succeeded, because he was his contemporary, since it was he, of the posterity of Kehlán, who stood up with him for the protection of the borders and closing up the gaps in the frontiers, as well as the collection of the revenues; therefore he particularly indicated him.

He then lays a stress upon this, and explains it clearly by his f. 4<sup>b</sup>



words: "And his divinely-assisted banner will appear among them according as they enunciate (the numeral letters for) 630 (A.H.)." And it happened as he foretold, through the appearance of 'el - Meliku'l - Manşúr, and his independent sovereignty in Yemen, together with the succession of his issue after him until this day of ours; he being 'Umer son of 'Aliyy, son of Resúl.

^ His independent sovereignty in Yemen happened in the year 630 of the era of the Hijra (A.D. 1232). This is the signification of his expression "according as they enunciate (the letters) ح (600) and ل (30)," for verily the letter ح as a numeral, stands for 600, and ل for 30.

The reign of Hárith the Rá'ish was before the appearance of the Prophet (upon whom may God bestow salutation and greeting) something like six hundred years,<sup>27</sup> as is said; but God knows best.

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Hasan the Khazrejite (whom may God pass over in forgiveness): I have commented this poem, indited by Hárith the Rá'ish, in an exquisite monograph which I have entitled "The Net Result; on the Lineage of the House of Resúl"; and I did so by reason of what I discerned as to the veracity of their genealogy. Few indeed are the arguments in proof of the veracity of anyone's lineage so good as those which confirm this genealogy.

#### A.—SPECIAL SECTION.

Now when 'Ámir died—the son of Háritha the 'Ezdite—who was surnamed "Water of the Sky" by reason of his munificence and generosity, his son 'Amr son of 'Ámir undertook to direct affairs after him; taking on himself all that his father had undertaken, in the matter of the protection of the territory, stopping up the frontier gaps, extracting revenue from whom due, etc. And he it was who was surnamed Muzeyqiyá' ('the little tatterer'); respecting whom, and his son, one of the 'supporters' has sung:

*I am the son of Muzeqqiyá', of 'Amr; and my grandfather was his father, 'Ámir, the 'Water of the Sky.'"*

Verily, 'Ámir son of Háritha was surnamed "Water of the Sky" because he maintained his people a year, when the sky was morose, and the earth consequently unfruitful through extreme barrenness. So he ceased not to supply his people until they were rained upon and were in plenty. Thus they named him the "Water of the Sky" from this cause; for he was a substitute for the water of the sky and provisioned them a whole year. f. 5<sup>a</sup>

And in like manner 'Amr son of 'Ámir was surnamed the "Little Tatterer" because he used to put on every day two suits of clothing, and then rend them in tatters at the close of the day; because he disdained to use them again, and disliked that any other but himself should wear them. He lived a very long life; it is said that he attained to the age of eight hundred years; but God knows best.

In his days came about the ruin of the Dam. The first to found the Dam was Seba' the Greater, whose name was 'Ámir, though some say 'Abdu'sh-Shems ('servant of the sun'), son of Yeshjub son of Ya'rub son of Qaḥṭán. He who next built it was Hīmyer son of Seba', after the death of his father. Then, he who completed it afterwards was the Hīmyerite Two-Horned One (Dhū'l-Qarneyni'l-Hīmyeriyy), who was Ṣa'b son of 'Ebú-Meráthid.<sup>28</sup>

And the Dam was from Mount Me'rib to Mount 'Eblaq, which are two mounts of great height upon towering mountains stretched out between the Dam and the north thereof. And there flowed towards the Dam from the higher region of Yemen seventy watercourses, besides what came to it from minor channels. And what was above the Dam, from six months off, flowed into this Dam; while the water of the Dam irrigated (a district) two months (long) by two months (broad).<sup>29</sup>

That (region) which adjoined Me'rib on the north of the Dam belonged to the Benú Kehlán (tribe of Kehlán); and what

was conterminous with Mount 'Eblaq south of the Dam belonged to the children of Himyer.

The water thereof was constant from year to year, according to the extent of the country and its perpetual irrigation.

And the Dam had three outlets; and below the Dam there was a pool of very large extent. When they required irrigation, they would open the upper sluice, the water would flow into the pool, and they would water with it.

When the water fell below the upper sluice they would open the middle one, the water would again run into the pool, and therewith watering would proceed. If the water became too shallow for the middle outlet, they could open the lowest sluice and let it run into the pool as before.

11 And Bilqís<sup>30</sup> had made twelve springs in the pool; so they  
f. 5<sup>b</sup> irrigated their gardens and their seed-crops, and they wanted for nothing, whatever they might desire, and to spare. And a servant would walk among the trees with a large basket on his head. The basket would fill with fruits without his picking any with his hand, and without gathering any from the ground. The sun could never reach anyone who walked beneath the trees of these gardens, by reason of their interlacing. And they used to supply one another mutually with fires for an extent of country two months' journey long by two broad. It is even said a journey of six months each way. But God knows best.

On this subject God hath spoken and said (who be blessed and extolled): "There had been for Seba' in their dwelling-place a sign—two gardens, on the right and left. Eat ye of the provision of your Lord, and give ye thanks unto Him. A goodly country, and a forgiving Lord."<sup>31</sup>

They have said: "And a man used to travel from his own country to another, take his siesta there, and arrive at a third in the evening, of those towns on which God had granted His blessing, these being the towns of the holy temple." And they used to say: "O our Lord God, do Thou make our journeyings far between." So when they had thus blasphemed the good things of God, the Lord sent unto them His apostles, as it is

spoken: "Verily God sent unto them twelve prophets"; or, as some have said, "thirteen prophets." And they called the apostles of God liars, and turned away from obedience unto God. So God sent upon them "the inundation of 'Arim,"<sup>32</sup> this 'Arim being a heavy rain, as is affirmed by the author of "The Crowns."<sup>33</sup> After that God ruined the Dam. 17

# SECTION.

## ACCOUNT OF THE RUIN OF THE DAM.

Thus saith the author of "The Crowns" ('et-Tiján):—At what time Ṭarīfa daughter of Jebr the Ḥajwerite,<sup>34</sup> wife of 'Amr son of 'Ámir, the Little Tatterer, was asleep by the side of 'Amr on a certain night among others, behold, she saw as it were a black cloud that enveloped the land of Yemen. It lightened, thundered, and shot forth thunderbolts. It passed over nothing that it did not burn up. So she was terrified by her dream, and arose in fear, and troubled with extreme terror. Then 'Amr quieted her alarm, and asked what had happened to her. So she spake: "By the light and the dark, by the sky and the earth, Shaḥr<sup>35</sup> will be destroyed, and Yemen will perish; the countries will be devastated, and God's people will be scattered." And he said: "And how shall this happen?" Said she: "There will be seven hard years, that will bring about earthquakes and disasters; therein will the son abandon the father." 'Amr said to her: "Thou hast spoken sincerely and truly; what, then, is thy opinion?" And she spake: "Go thou to the Dam; and when thou shalt have seen lightning and thunder, when the malign star<sup>36</sup> (Mars or Saturn) shall have arisen and the auspicious (Venus or Jupiter) shall have disappeared, then, upon this, the rat! the rat!<sup>37</sup> When thou shalt have seen it multiply digging, and the overturning of enormous stones with its two fore-feet, verily, the event will have drawn nigh. Then will endurance be incumbent on thee, and not a bemoaning over fortune." f. 6a 17

Said he to her: "And when opinest thou that this will happen?" She said unto him: "I know not, save that it is an event that will have come down from God, and a decree from Him that has preceded in past eternity; it will not be turned aside from plain or from mountain; wherever He hath willed, it will come to pass; therefore, from thee be there caution and dread."

So 'Amr set out to the Dam; and he ceased not to keep watch over it, until he saw one day a water-rat digging into the Dam with its two fore-feet and its two hind-feet; it had also overturned a rock that less than forty men could not overset. And the beast was blind.

So, when he had seen this, he went back to Tarífa, and said to her: "I have seen the verification of thy saying, O Tarífa" Said she to him: "O 'Amr, cause thou to hasten the journeyings, house to house, neighbour to neighbour, when the divine decrees shall come down, and while the night and the day tread in each other's footmarks."

1<sup>a</sup> Said he: "And when shall this be?" She said: "In seven years shall the event happen of a surety, through a disuniting of the two hands, while rancour shall multiply." Now some have maintained that these were the "seven grievous years" which the Potentate of Egypt<sup>88</sup> saw in a vision that Joseph<sup>39</sup> interpreted to him—the Truthful One, on whom be greeting.

f. 6<sup>b</sup> Then 'Amr did that which Tarífa commanded him, and kept the matter secret. And he resolved to emigrate with his children and family; but this he kept to himself lest the people should oppose a refusal against him.

Later on, he one day commanded a banquet to be prepared. So he slaughtered a hundred camels and slew a great number of sheep and goats. Then he had it proclaimed among the Arabians, saying: "Come ye to the country of the Little Tatterer." So the people flocked to his bounty from all quarters, neither noble or simple holding back. Then he commanded his eldest son, who was Tha'leba the 'Anqá,<sup>40</sup> the ancestor of 'Ews and Khazrej, father of their father

Háaritha son of Tha'leba the 'Anqá', and said unto him: "When I command thee to do an act, then do not thou weigh the matter with thyself; for I shall strike thee with my boar-spear here, and when I strike thee do thou smite me on the face." Then said Tha'leba to him: "By God, O my father, I shall not be able to impel my hand towards thy face, neither will my spirit submit to me therein." He rejoined: "My dear son, if I have any claim upon thee, then oppose not thou thy father; for verily herein there is what will advantage me and thee." Then Tha'leba said unto him: 10  
"To hear is to obey."

So when the people had had their meal, and had finished, the nobles of the Arabians having gathered together, then the prince commanded his son Tha'leba to do a thing, and he disobeyed him. So he struck him with his boar-spear, and Tha'leba sprang upon him and buffeted him. Then said the prince: "Alas! the ignominy! he buffets me in the day of my bounty!" So his other sons and his cousins sprang on Tha'leba to kill him. Then he said: "Do not so; for verily pity hath occurred in my heart for him before wrath; and with haste comes remorse; but I will chastise him in a way that will do me justice by him. I will sell my cattle and my estates, and I will leave nothing for him to betake himself to; and I will take my departure from Me'rib to another place."

Then said the people of the region: "Take ye advantage of the anger of 'Amr, and buy ye of him all his properties." So when he had obtained the values of his possessions, he took his departure in the midst of his children and children's children, together with all his family and house.<sup>41</sup>

Subsequently God destroyed the Dam after this, and tore up the rocks, the pavilions, the trees, and the canals, casting the sands over them. And when they who were below the Dam saw its destruction, and that they could do nothing to f. 7<sup>a</sup>  
it, they fled to the tops of the hill with their families and cattle.

And the water surged over the Dam through an abundance 11

of rain ; and the water issued from the interstices burrowed by the rats ; as has been said by 'el-'A'shá as follows :—

*“ And herein is an example for him who profits thereby, as also  
Me'rib, over which the inundation swept ;  
Marbles that Hımyer built up for them. When its plantain-  
dealer came, he gathered not the gleanings ;  
And he irrigated the seed-crops and the grapes thereof, according  
to the abundance of their water when distributed.  
And they became dispersed on all hands, they found not thereof  
wherewith to give drink to a newly weaned infant.”*

And they became as God hath said, who be exalted and blessed : “ And We substituted unto them for their two gardens, two gardens with austere edibles and tamarisks and a little somewhat of zizyphus lotus. Thus did we punish them for that which they ungratefully denied ; and do We punish unless the ungrateful denier ? ” <sup>42</sup>

And it is related that the torrent of the inundation occurred about four hundred years before 'Islám ; this was said by Hıamza son of Hıasan the 'İsfáhánite ; but in a narrative other than his it was more than that ; and this latter is the more accurate ; but God knows best.<sup>43</sup>

## SECTION.

And when the Dam was ruined, and 'Amr son of 'Ámir, the Little Tatterer, set out with his children, his children's children, and a number of the clans of his people, from Me'rib with their  
 14 faces turned towards the regions, they sought a land that would sustain them or a district that would defend them. So they alighted in the regions of 'Akk<sup>44</sup> as they went along.

The head of 'Akk in that day was Shemlaqa son of Jubáb. So they begged them to permit them to stay with them until they should command some one to seek out an alighting-place in which they could alight.

And 'Amr son of 'Ámir sent out three of his sons, who were Hārith son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir, and Málík son of 'Amr, and Hāritha son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir, and he is the father of Khuzá'a.<sup>45</sup>

Saith the son of Quteyba:<sup>46</sup> "And 'Amr son of 'Ámir died in the land of 'Akk before any one of those came back whom he had sent out prospecting. Then his son Tha'leba the 'Anqá' was made to succeed in his stead, who was the ancestor of 'Ews and Khazrej,<sup>47</sup> the two sons of Hāritha son of Tha'leba the 'Anqá' son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir. And he took upon himself that which his fathers had undertaken as to the conservancy of the territory and closing up of weak frontier places." f. 7<sup>b</sup>

And when 'Amr son of 'Ámir died, as we have narrated, the pestilence fell among his people after him, and matters became very grievous upon them. So they sent to 'Akk and said to them: "The site in which you have let us alight is unsuited to us, and therein has the pestilence already come upon us to the extent inflicted on us. Do ye therefore put us in the locality where you are, as our abiding-place with you; and we will soon journey away from you." 1A

But 'Akk disliked this. So warfare broke out between them, and they mutually fought a vehement battle, and the slaughter waxed hot against 'Akk, and Shemlaqa son of Jubáb was slain by treachery. And he who managed their warfare and their battle was Jedha' son of Sinán, who was valiant, bold, and decided. He was one-eyed, deaf, fertile in wiles, great in stratagem, a crafty one among the crafty ones of the Arabians.

And Tha'leba the 'Anqá' was disgusted with this deed of his, and he swore that he would not remain there. So they ceased not journeying until they became near to Mekka. And the dwellers in Mekka at that time were Jurhum.<sup>48</sup> So Tha'leba the 'Anqá' sent messengers to Jurhum and begged that they would permit him to stay with them. But they returned him a refusal. So they fought mutually, and 'Ezd<sup>49</sup> prevailed over them and drove them out of Mekka. So



Khuzá'a<sup>50</sup> took charge of the temple for a long space of time about three hundred years.

Thus has said the son of Quteyba: "So Tha'leba the 'Anqá' died at Mekka, and his brother Jefna son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir became his successor over his people. And Jefna took on himself whatever his forefathers had undertaken as to the  
 19 conservancy of the territory and the repulsion of attacks upon it. And he ceased not to dwell in Mekka,<sup>51</sup> he and his people of 'Ezd, until Mekka became too confined for them and they resolved to arise and quit it.

f. 8<sup>a</sup> And there was among them a woman who foretold coming events, even Tarífa the wife of 'Amr son of 'Ámir, the Little Tatterer. So when they determined on an exodus from Mekka their inspired woman said to them: "Whosoever is possessed of a far-reaching ambition, unflinching endurance, and untiring power let him set out for stuccoed 'Umán."<sup>52</sup> So there journeyed thitherward the sons of Naḍr son of 'Ezd. They are the 'Ezd of 'Umán; and they alighted in 'Umán and Baḥreyn,<sup>53</sup> dominating over whatever was there; so it is their dwelling-place unto this day.

Next she said: "And whosoever of you is possessed of boldness, determination, decision, valour, and longsuffering under the vicissitudes of fortune, let him betake him to the valley of Merr."<sup>54</sup> So Khuzá'a alighted there, and it is where have been their abodes in the days of ignorance and in 'Islám.

Then she said: "And whoso desires immovable mountains in a morass, and fertile lands in a barren desert, let him hie to Yethrib,<sup>55</sup> the land of date-palms." So Háritha son of Tha'leba the 'Anqá', with his children through 'Ews and Khazrej,<sup>56</sup> journeyed thither, and in it are their habitations, both in paganism and in 'Islám.

And when they resolved upon issuing forth unto Yethrib,  
 17 she said to them: "O people of tranquil countenances, of defiant souls, of eminent deeds, alight ye in Yethrib, the far distant, before the downcome of the divine decree and the

prolongation of the event ; so that ye may know after ignorance, and perceive the possessor of the Apostleship." <sup>57</sup>

Again she spake : "And whosoever desireth fine raiment, noble horses, treasures, and aliments, let him turn his steps towards the highways of 'Irâq." <sup>58</sup> So Málík son of Fehm the 'Ezdite,<sup>59</sup> with clans of his race, went thither, and prevailed against it, becoming princes therein. And they were the Princes of Híra <sup>60</sup> before the Princes of Lakhm.<sup>61</sup>

She said furthermore : "And whoso may have wished for wine and pastry, brocade and silk, bondage and nails, let him attain unto Bostra,<sup>62</sup> Háfír,<sup>63</sup> and the choice spots of Damascus<sup>64</sup> of Syria, that he may possess them years after years, and that noble youths may see them." So Jefna son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir journeyed thither with his children and his children's children. And he had the most children of them all ; for it is related that he had a hundred wedded wives. And there f. 8b journeyed with him a number of the clans of Ghassán.

They have said that he was named Jefna <sup>65</sup> simply because he inherited the platter of his father in which he used to give food to the people. It was an immense platter, around which a r1 hundred horsemen could circle, and from which the sitting, standing, and mounted men could eat. It was in subdivisions ; and when a festival came round it was brought forth, put together, and pitched on the outside, just as a ship is pitched. Then, when the festival was over, it was taken to pieces and put away in its place.

Thus has said the son of Quteyba : "So Jedha' son of Sinán, the slayer of Shemlaqa son of Jubáb, journeyed among those who went towards Syria ; and he was a noble of the nobles of Ghassán.<sup>66</sup> And when they had settled down in Syria the tax-collector of Qayṣar <sup>67</sup> came to them to demand the tax receivable for the fisc. Then said unto him Jedha' son of Sinán : 'We are a famished people, and we have not with us anything we can send to the King ; but take thou this sword as a pledge unto thee until there come unto us what we may send to the King.' Then the collector said : 'Put

thou it into so-and-so of thy mother'; at which those present laughed.

"Now Jedha' son of Sinán was deaf; and when he saw the assembly laugh he understood what the collector had said. So he unsheathed the sword, and struck through the neck of the collector, while one of those present said: 'Take thou from Jedha' that which he hath given thee'; and it spread abroad as a proverb.

"Then the scribe of the collector went away to Qaysar and informed him of what had happened with Ghassán, and of their slaughter of the collector. So Qaysar despatched against them a dense army to combat them and to expel them from the regions; Ghassán, however, routed them and took away their weapons. Then he sent against them another army, but not one of them could stand against Ghassán; so they routed them, and they slew of them a part.

"And when Qaysar saw this, he made them his lieutenants over the Arabians of Syria, taking away the domination of Selîḥ<sup>68</sup> from over them. Now Selîḥ had been the princes over the Arabians of Syria before Ghassán; and Ghassán ceased not to be princes there until there arose the empire of 'Islām." And God knows best.

f. 9<sup>a</sup>

## SECTION.

### A MENTION OF THE GHASSÁN PRINCES OF SYRIA IN THE DAYS OF PAGANISM.

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan, the Khazrejite, with whom may God deal graciously: The first who ruled in Syria, of Ghassán, after Jefna son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir, was Ḥárith<sup>69</sup> son of 'Amr son of Jefna, who was Ḥárith the Greater. His family name was 'Ebú Shemir (Father of Shemir), and he was called "The Burner," because he was the first who punished by fire; and his posterity are known as "The House of the Burner" ('Álu Muḥarriq). Said 'Ibnu (the son of) Khumurṭash<sup>70</sup> in his short-vowel-ending poem:

*"And the proud ones among the proud of the sons of the Burner,  
who covered the land with cohorts of pismires."*

Such is the story told by the 'Esh'arite ('el-'Esh'ariyy).<sup>71</sup>

Again he saith: Then after him reigned his son Ḥārith the Halting son of Ḥārith the Greater. His mother was "Máriya of the two Earrings,"<sup>72</sup> from whom people say proverbially: "Even for the two earrings of Máriya." She was Máriya daughter of 'Erqam son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of Jefna; though it has been said: Máriya daughter of Dhálim son of Wehb son of Ḥārith son of Mu'áwiya son of Thewr, who was Kinda.<sup>73</sup> And unto her is the pedigree traced of the princes of Ghassán. Says Ḥassán son of Thábit,<sup>74</sup> one of the aiders (supporters), praising the princes, the sons of Jefna:

*"The children of Jefna, around the grave of their forefather,  
the grave of the son of Máriya, the munificent, the extolled;  
They cover over, so that their dogs may not howl; they ask  
no questions about the coming distant dark figure;  
They are radiant of countenance; noble are their fair; dis-  
dainful of nose; of the pristine pattern."*

He was the best of their princes, the most auspicious of them in bird-augury, the most distant of them in raiding, and the most powerful of them in stratagems. He it was who warred against Khayber<sup>75</sup> and made captive its people, setting them free again after reaching Syria. Mundhir the Lakhmite, son of Má'u's-Semá' (the Water of the Sky),<sup>76</sup> marched against him with a hundred thousand of his people and the men of his country. To meet them Ḥārith the Halting despatched one hundred men of Ghassán, pretending that he had sent them to treat of peace. And among them was the poet Lebíd son of Yezíd the Ghassánite, who was then a youth. They surrounded the pavilion of Mundhir, son of the Water of the Sky, and a party of them rushed upon him, slew him, and

r<sup>a</sup>f. 9<sup>b</sup>

killed a multitude of his people and of such of his family as were with him. They then jumped upon their horses' backs, some of them escaping and some being slain.

This being achieved, the Ghassánite cavalry charged upon the masses of Mundhir, routed them, slew a portion and captured another. This battle was named "The Day" of Ḥalíma," from the circumstance that Ḥalíma daughter of Ḥárith the Halting perfumed those hundred men with a perfume of the perfumes of princes, after which they donned their winding-sheets, and over these their coats of mail. Then they went to encounter Mundhir; and for this reason is the day named the "Day of Ḥalíma."

Next after him did his son, Ḥárith the Less son of Ḥárith the Halting son of Ḥárith the Greater,<sup>78</sup> become the ruler; and after him his brother, Nu'mán<sup>79</sup> son of Ḥárith the Halting son of Ḥárith the Greater. He it was of whom Nábigha<sup>80</sup> the Dhubyánite has sung:

*"This is a youth whose face is handsome; he is a presage of luck, and swift of accomplishment,  
For Ḥárith the Lesser and Ḥárith the Halter, and the Greater,  
the best of mankind:  
Then for Hind, and for Hind; and already hath a leader  
hastened from him in good works.  
Five ancestors of them. What are they? They are the most  
munificent of those who drink the downpour of the clouds."*

And Nábigha also sings of him:<sup>81</sup>

*"Then if Nu'mán laments, we rejoice and exult; and its good  
and its spring become ready:*

f. 10<sup>4</sup> *And there returns unto Kehlán a sovereignty and a principedom;  
and this is the thing desired, if only we be capable of it."*

And the son of Quteyba hath said:<sup>82</sup> And there were three sons of Nu'mán son of Ḥárith: Ḥujr son of Nu'mán, from

whom his father was surnamed ; and 'Amr son of Nu'mán ; and Nu'mán son of Nu'mán. And all of them became princes, and of them sings Ḥassán son of Thábit, the "Aider," "Supporter" :

*"Who will foolishly have faith in fortune or place confidence in it,  
of any tribe after 'Amr and Hujr ?*

*Two Princes, from the Mountain of Snow<sup>83</sup> to the two coasts of  
'Eyla<sup>84</sup> in the neighbourhood of Wejr."*<sup>85</sup>

And after him his brother 'Amr son of Ḥārith the Halting ruled ; and it is he to whom Nábigha the Dhubyánite alludes when he separated from Nu'mán son of Mundhir, thus speaking of him<sup>86</sup> :—

*"Kindness after kindness is to my debit and the credit of 'Amr  
and his father, which did not hide scorpions in them."*

The son of Quteyba also has said : " 'Amr son of Ḥārith was further surnamed 'Ebu-Shemir the Lesser."

Mes'údiyy again has as follows :<sup>87</sup> "When Ḥārith the Greater had ruled, the first prince after him was Ḥārith son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr." He also says : "And his mother was Máriya of the two Earrings." And again : "Then after him ruled Nu'mán son of Ḥārith son of Jebela son of Ḥārith son of Tha'leba son of Jefna. And after him ruled 'Awf son of 'Ebú Shemir ;<sup>88</sup> and he was sovereign when the Prophet was sent, on whom may God bestow salutation and greeting."

And one of the collectors of traditions<sup>89</sup> has related that Ḥassán son of Thábit came as envoy to Ḥārith son of 'Ebú Shemir in Syria. And Nu'mán son of Mundhir was Prince of Híra, and vied with him. So Ḥārith son of 'Ebú Shemir said to Ḥassán son of Thábit : "O thou son of Furey'a,<sup>90</sup> it has reached me that thou extoldest Nu'mán above me." Then Ḥassán said unto him : "And how could I extol him above thee, or represent him as thy peer ? For, by God, verily the

back of thy head is more comely than his face ; and verily thy mother was more noble than his father ; and verily thy left hand is more bounteous than his right hand ; and indeed thy little is more than his much ; and verily thy draining from a scooped water-hole is more plenteous than his pond ; and indeed thy footstool is wider than his throne ; and verily thy irrigation-channels are more abundant than his canals ; and indeed thy day is longer than his months ; and forsooth thou art of Ghassán, while indeed he is of Lakhm. How then can I extol him above thee, or equal him with thee ?" And he said : " O son of Furey'a, verily this is not heard, saving in poetry." So he said :

*" Thou hast been told that the father of Mundhir compares himself to thee in respect of Hárith the Lesser ;*

*Thy occiput is more comely than his countenance ; and thy mother better than Mundhir ;*

*And the left one of thy two hands unto any other than it, is like the right one of his two hands on the galling arrow."*

And of them is Hárith son of 'Ebú Jebela son of Hárith son of Tha'leba son of Hárith son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of Jefna, who is mentioned by the son of Jewn. He has said : " And his reign was of three years." He said also : " And of them was 'Eyhem son of Jebela son of Hárith son of 'Ebú Jebela son of Hárith son of Tha'leba son of Hárith son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of Jefna. And of them was Jebela son of 'Eyhem son of Jebela son of Hárith son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of Jefna." And he was the last of their princes. And God knows best.<sup>91</sup>

And the number of their princes was thirty sovereigns. It has been said thirty-two sovereigns, and even thirty-six sovereigns.<sup>92</sup> And the period of their rule was 616 years.<sup>93</sup> But in some history, that the duration of their rule was one thousand six hundred years.

## SECTION.

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan the Khazrejite, with whom may God deal in His grace: And the author of "The Crowns"<sup>94</sup> has given a section, in which he mentions the names of the princes of Ghassán. And he has related that the first of the princes of Ghassán was Mázin son of 'Ezd. Says he: "And he was the Gatherer together of Ghassán,<sup>95</sup> and was called the Slayer of Famine.<sup>96</sup> Next, his son Tha'leba son of Mázin, who was called the Provision of Travel.<sup>97</sup> Next, his son 'Imru'u'l-Qays son of Tha'leba, surnamed Buhlúl; <sup>f. 11\*</sup> <sup>98</sup> then, his son Ḥáritha son of 'Imru'u'l-Qays, who was called Ghitríf.<sup>99</sup> Next, his son 'Ámir son of Ḥáritha; and he it was who was designated Water of the Sky; <sup>100</sup> or, as is said, Water of the Rain-Cloud. Next, his son 'Imrán son of 'Ámir, who was a diviner. Then his brother 'Amr son of 'Ámir, who was surnamed the Little Tatterer.<sup>101</sup> Next, his son Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir; and he was called the 'Anqá,' and he was the grandfather of 'Ews and Khazrej. Then, his brother Jefna son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir; his name was 'Ulba<sup>102</sup> son of 'Amr. Next, his son 'Amr son of Jefna; then his son Ḥárith son of 'Amr son of Jefna, who was Ḥárith the Greater. Next his son Ḥárith son of Ḥárith, who was Ḥárith the Halter; then his son Ḥárith son of Ḥárith, who was Ḥárith the Lesser.<sup>103</sup> Next, his brother Nu'mán son of Ḥárith the Halter; then the children of Nu'mán, who were three—'Amr son of Nu'mán, and Ḥujr son of Nu'mán, and Nu'mán son of Nu'mán son of Ḥárith.<sup>104</sup> And of the children of Ḥárith the Halter was there also Mundhir son of Ḥárith the Halter, and 'Eyhem son of Ḥárith the Halter, and his son Jebela son of 'Eyhem, and 'Ebu Jebela son of 'Amr, who slew the Jews at Medína."<sup>105</sup> He has further said: "And of them was Jebela son of Jefna, and Tha'leba son of 'Amr, and 'Amr son of 'Amr, and Mundhir son of Ḥárith son of Jebela."<sup>106</sup> And he has also said: "The 'Eyhems were four; <sup>107</sup> they were: 'Eyhem son of Ḥárith son of Jebela son of Ḥárith son of 'Ebu Jebela son of Ḥárith son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of Jefna;

f. 11\*

r1

r2



f. 11<sup>b</sup> and 'Eyhem son of 'Eyhem son of Hārith son of 'Ebú Jebela ; and 'Eyhem son of 'Eyhem son of Jebela son of Hārith son of Ebú Jebela." Said he : " And the son of Jewn<sup>108</sup> has related this in his commentary on the poem by Khumurtash, taking it from the son of the Kelbite 'Ibnu'l-Kelbiyy,<sup>109</sup> who said : ' And Hārith son of Jebela had four children—Nu'mán son of Hārith, Jebela son of Hārith, Mundhir son of Hārith, and again Mundhir son of Hārith.'"<sup>110</sup> And again he said : " And all of them became sovereigns." Such is the narrative of the author of " The Crowns "; and God knoweth best.

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Hasan the Khazrejite, with whom may God deal in His grace : " The jurist 'Ebú'l-Hasan Hamza son of Hasan the 'Iṣfahánite has inscribed in his book known as 'The Book of the Annals of the Nations' (Kitábu Tewárikhi'l-'Umam) thirty-two princes of the princes of Ghassán, the one after the other, as also the number of the years that each one of them ruled individually. He has also mentioned that the total thereof was 601 years. And I have related that which he narrates in the section following this present one. Unto God belongeth the granting of success."

#### SECTION.

Said 'Ebú'l-Hasan Hamza son of Hasan the 'Iṣfahánite, to whom may God show loving mercy : " The descendants of Jefna were the tax-collectors of the Cæsars<sup>111</sup> over the Arabians of Syria, as were the descendants of Naṣr<sup>112</sup> the tax-collectors of the Chosroes ('Ekásira)<sup>113</sup> over the Arabians of 'Iráq."<sup>114</sup> He also said : " And the origin of the sons of Jefna was from Yemen, from the stock of 'Ezd. And this, inasmuch as 'Ezd, while yet at Me'rib, having a presentiment of the disintegration of the Dam, and fearing the inundation of the outburst of its waters, emigrated from Me'rib. So a party went northwards and alighted at a water called Ghassán; thus they were named Ghassán, from the water on which they had alighted; and it is a water at the Dam of Me'rib, though it has been said to be a water at Mushellel near Juḥfa,<sup>115</sup> and further said to

be a water between the Zebíd<sup>116</sup> and the Rima<sup>117</sup> which are two valley-streams belonging to the 'Esh'arites<sup>118</sup> in Yemen." He has also stated: "Later on, Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of 'Ámir, he who was called the 'Anqá, caused them to settle in the wilderness of Syria.<sup>119</sup> The princes thereof on the part of f. 12<sup>a</sup> the Qayṣars at that time were of the Selḥ son of Ḥulwán son of 'Imrán son of 'Ilḥan son of Quḍá'a. So when Ghassán alighted in the vicinity of Selḥ, these imposed upon them the payment of a tax. He who was charged with its collection was Subeyṭ son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of 'Awf son of Ḍuj'am son of Ḥamáṭa. So Subeyṭ went to see Tha'leba son of 'Amr, and demanded of him the tax. Then Tha'leba begged of him a delay; but Subeyṭ said, 'Indeed, thou shalt pay down at once, or verily I will seize thy family.' Now Tha'leba was forbearing; so he said to Subeyṭ, 'Hast thou a desire for someone to lend this tax-money at interest?' And he said: 'Yes.' Said he: 'There is Jedha' son of Sinán for thee.' Now Jedha' son of Sinán was a man of decision, as we have narrated. Then Subeyṭ came to him and said to him what he had said to Tha'leba son of 'Amr. So Jedha' came forth to him, having with him a sword enriched with gold. And he said unto him: 'Art thou willing to take this sword in lieu of thy claim until I can gather together for thee the tax?' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'Take it.' So Subeyṭ grasped the sheath of the sword, while its hilt was in the hand of Jedha', who drew it from the sheath and smote therewith Subeyṭ in such manner that he fell down dead. Then it was said to him: 'Take thou from Jedha' that which he hath given thee'; and this passed into a proverb. Then war occurred between Selḥ and Ghassán, so that Ghassán drove Selḥ out of Syria, and became princes there. And the first prince from out of Ghassán in the land of Syria was Jefna son of 'Amr the Little Tatterer son of 'Ámir the Water of the Sky son of Ḥáriṭha the Ghitṛif son of 'Imru'u'l-Qays the Bitṛiq son of Tha'leba the Buhlúl son of Mázin the Provision of Travel otherwise the Slayer of Famine son of 'Ezd son of Ghawth." m

f. 12<sup>b</sup> He has also said : “ And it is asserted by ‘Ezd that ‘Amr son of ‘Ámir was called the Little Tatterer merely by reason that he used to tatter every day of the days of his rule two suits of raiment which it was distasteful to him to return to again, and which it would have touched his pride that any other than himself should have put on.”<sup>120</sup> Therefore he was called the Little Tatterer. But it has been said : “ For the reason that ‘Ezd was rent into rags in his days and became scattered at what time they took flight from the inundation of the outburst. And the Arabians took up as a proverb the dispersion of ‘Ezd from Me’rib through the inundation of the outburst, and they said : ‘ The sons of So-and-So became as the detachments, or, as the many detachments, of Seba.’ ” But God knows best.

And he who made Jefna prince over Syria was a prince from among the princes of the Romans called by the name of Nestúrus.<sup>121</sup> Then, when Jefna son of ‘Amr became possessor of Syria after the Selfhian princes of Quḏá’a, then did Quḏá’a submit to him, as also others of the people of Syria and others. 14<sup>p</sup> And he built Jilliḡ,<sup>122</sup> Qarya,<sup>123</sup> and a number of water-tanks. Afterwards he died, his rule having been for forty-five years and three months.

Then there ruled after him his son ‘Amr son of Jefna for five years. And he built the three monasteries<sup>124</sup>—Deyr Ḥálí, Deyr ‘Eyyub, and Deyr Hennáda.

And there governed after him his son Tha’leba<sup>125</sup> son of ‘Amr son of Jefna. He it was that built Merju’l-Ghadír<sup>126</sup> on the outskirts of Ḥawrán<sup>127</sup> that adjoin the Belqá’.<sup>128</sup> And the duration of his rule was seventeen years.

Then there reigned after him his son Ḥárith son of Tha’leba son of ‘Amr son of Jefna. He built nothing ; and his reign was twenty years.

Then ruled after him his son Jebela son of Ḥárith son of Tha’leba son of ‘Amr son of Jefna.

Next after him reigned his son Ḥárith son of Jebela son of Ḥárith son of Tha’leba son of ‘Amr son of Jefna ; whose mother was Máriya of the Two Earrings,<sup>129</sup> daughter of ‘Erqam son of

'Amr son of Jefna ; whose dwelling was at Belqá'. He built there Ḥafīr,<sup>130</sup> and the water-tank of the well of 'Ujáf,<sup>131</sup> also the castle of 'Ubeyriq.<sup>132</sup> His rule was ten years.

Then there governed after him his eldest son Mundhir son of Ḥáarith son of Máriya. And he built Je'thá'<sup>133</sup> and Zerqá'<sup>134</sup> near to the Two Horns.<sup>135</sup> And his reign was three years.

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f. 13<sup>a</sup>

Next ruled after him his brother Nu'mán son of Ḥáarith son of Máriya ; and his reign was fifteen years and six months.

Then succeeded to him his brother Nu'mán the Younger, who was 'Ebú Shemir son of Ḥáarith son of Máriya ; and his reign was thirteen years.

Next after him ruled his brother Jebela son of Ḥáarith son of Máriya ; his residence was at Khárib.<sup>136</sup> Then he built the castle of Khárib, and Makhárib, and Memna'a. His reign was of thirty-four years.

Then next after him governed his brother 'Eyhem son of Ḥáarith son of Máriya ; who built the monasteries of Ḍakhm Abbey (Deyr Ḍakhm),<sup>137</sup> and of the Abbey of the Prophetship (Deyru'n-Nubuwwa). And his reign was of three years.

Then followed next after him as prince his brother 'Amr son of Ḥáarith son of Máriya. He alighted at Sudeyr<sup>138</sup> and built the Castle of 'Afár and the Castle of Menár ; his rule being twenty-six years.

Next reigned after him the son<sup>139</sup> of his brother, Jefna the Greater son of Nu'mán the Greater son of Ḥáarith son of Máriya. He is known as the Burner, since it was he who burnt Ḥíra. From him are named the Children of the Burner ('Álu Muḥarriq) ; and it is of him that sings 'Adiyy son of Zeyd, in an address to Nu'mán son of Mundhir, where he says :

" *The sky of emptiness ; and it set in a blaze its two sides ; and the towers and the neighbourhood amused thee.* " 131

*The clamorous females were young lasses near the home ; then thy servants entered on the morning dawn, and lo, the lasses were grey-haired."*

And its covering works were its ruin. Then he died ; and his reign was three years.

Next reigned after him Nu'mán son of the younger Mundhir son of the elder Mundhir son of Hárith son of Máriya. His rule was of one year, and he built nothing.

f. 13<sup>b</sup> Then after him governed the son of his brother, Nu'mán son of 'Amr son of the younger Mundhir son of the elder Mundhir son of Hárith son of Máriya. He built the Castle of Suweydá'<sup>140</sup> and the Castle of Khárib. His father, 'Amr, did not rule, but he used to go forth on warlike expeditions with the armies ; and he it was in whose praise Nábigha<sup>141</sup> sang when he said :

*" Kindness after kindness is to my debit and to the credit of 'Amr and his father, which did not hide scorpions in them."*

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Hasan the Khazrejite, with whom may God deal in His grace : " What is manifest unto me is that Nábigha did not attain to the epoch of this said King ; for the author, on whom be God's mercy, has mentioned Nábigha towards the end of the section, and has said that he sang in praise of 'Eyhem son of Jebela. Now, between 'Eyhem son of Jebela and 'Amr son of Mundhir the Younger, according to what he has laid down in his History, there is what exceeds three hundred years. It is also known that Nábigha was nearly contemporary with the empire of 'Islám ; for Hassán son of Thábit was contemporaneous with him, and they went as ambassadors at the same time to Nu'mán son of Mundhir the Lakhmite."

Thus says Hamza son of Hasan the 'Iṣfahánite : And the reign of Nu'mán son of 'Amr was seven and twenty years ; and there governed after him his son Jebela son of Nu'mán son of 'Amr son of Mundhir the Younger. And his dwelling was in Šiffín,<sup>142</sup> and he was the lord of 'Aynu 'Ubágh,<sup>143</sup> and also the slayer of Nu'mán<sup>144</sup> son of the Water of the Sky. His reign was sixteen years.

Then after him ruled Nu'mán son of 'Eyhem son of Ḥārith son of Máriya, who produced nothing new, and whose reign was twenty-one years five months.

After him governed Nu'mán son of Ḥārith son of 'Eyhem, who repaired the subterranean cisterns of Ruṣáfa,<sup>145</sup> which one of the princes of Lakhm had laid waste. And his reign was eighteen years.

Then there ruled after him his brother Mundhir son of Nu'mán son of Ḥārith son of 'Eyhem, who originated nothing, and whose reign was nineteen years.

He was succeeded by his brother 'Amr son of Nu'mán, who originated nothing, and whose reign was thirty-three years four months. f. 14<sup>a</sup>  
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Then governed after him his brother Ḥujr son of Nu'mán son of Ḥārith son of 'Eyhem son of Ḥārith son of Máriya. His reign was twenty-six years.

Next there ruled after him his son Ḥārith son of Ḥujr son of Nu'mán son of Ḥārith, whose reign was twelve years.

Then there reigned after him his son Jebela son of Ḥārith son of Ḥujr son of Nu'mán, whose sovereignty was nineteen years and a month.

Next ruled after him his son Ḥārith son of Jebela son of Ḥārith son of Ḥujr, who was also called Ḥārith son of 'Ebu Shemir. He it was who fought with the sons of Kinána.<sup>146</sup> He inhabited Jábiya.<sup>147</sup> His reign was twenty-one years five months.

After him governed his son Nu'mán son of Ḥārith son of Jebela son of Ḥārith son of Ḥujr. His surname was 'Ebu Kurz,<sup>148</sup> and he built what overlooks the left-hand basin-hollow.<sup>149</sup> And Nábiga has wept over him in his verse:

*"Khawlán<sup>150</sup> has wept for Ḥārith from its loss of its lord; and Ḥawrán, on account of him, is downcast and abject."*

His reign was thirty-seven years three months.

And after him governed 'Eyhem<sup>151</sup> son of Jebela son of Ḥārith son of 'Ebu Shemir, who was the lord of Tedmur.<sup>152</sup>

and of the Castle of Tur'a.<sup>153</sup> He fought against the sons of 'Anber<sup>154</sup> sons of Ḥashr and their tax-collector. Nábigha<sup>155</sup> thus sings of him :

*" Their sober senses strayed away from them, and there misled them the talent of the little man of Ma'add pasturing and tending cattle at a distance from home."*

Then there ruled after him his brother Mundhir son of Jebela son of Ḥárith son of 'Ebú Shemir, whose reign was one year.

Then there governed after him his brother 'Amr son of Jebela son of Ḥárith son of 'Ebú Shemir, whose reign was ten years and two months.

f. 14<sup>b</sup> Next ruled after him the son of his brother, Jebela son of Ḥárith son of Jebela son of Ḥárith son of 'Ebú Shemir, whose reign was four years.

Then succeeded after him Jebela son of 'Eyhem son of Jebela son of 'Eyhem son of Ḥárith son of Máriya of the Two Earrings, who was Ḥárith son of Jebela son of Ḥárith son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of Jefna. And the name of Jefna was Tha'leba<sup>156</sup> son of 'Amr the "Little Tatterer" son of 'Amir the "Water of the Sky" son of Ḥáritha the Ghiṭríf son of 'Imru'u'l-Qays the Biṭríq son of Tha'leba the Buhlúl son of Mázin the "Provision of Travel" called also the "Slayer of Famine" son of 'Ezd son of Ghawth. And the reign of Jebela son of 'Eyhem was three years; he being the last of the princes of Ghassán in the land of Syria.

But God knows best. Thus endeth that which Ḥamza son of Ḥasan the 'Isfahánite has narrated in his book known as the "Annals of the Nations." But God knows best.

Historians all agree that Jebela son of 'Eyhem was the last of the princes of Ghassán in the times of Ignorance. His height was twelve spans,<sup>157</sup> and when he rode his foot touched the earth. He attained to the rise of 'Islám, and became a Muslim in the days of 'Umer, with whom may God be satisfied. Later on he became a Nazarene<sup>158</sup> and betook him to the Romans.<sup>159</sup>

The cause of his becoming a Nazarene<sup>160</sup> was that a man trod on the border of his upper garment, as he was circum-ambulating the Temple ('el-Beyt), on which he turned round towards that man, and struck him a blow on the face that crushed his nose, and broke his tooth, and discoloured his eye. So this man laid his plaint before 'Umer son of Khattáb, with whom may God be satisfied. Then said 'Umer to him : "Satisfy thou him; or otherwise, I shall adjust him." Then he said : "Verily, I am a prince and he is a man of the market." So 'Umer said to him : "Verily, 'Islám has made equal the relation between you both." Then he said : "Grant thou me a delay until to-morrow." And he granted him the delay.

And when the night spread its mantle, he went forth with his retainers and his slaves, and whoever obeyed him of his people ; and he joined the Romans, and turned Nazarene. Later on, he was struck with remorse, according to what proceeded from him. For he it was who sang :

*"The princes have become Nazarenes by reason of a buffet, in which there was no harm had I had patience under it. f. 15<sup>a</sup>*

*There encompassed me therein contentiousness and pride; and I became like him who sells a sound eye for a blind one.*

*Oh would that my mother had not borne me! And would that I had turned to the saying that 'Umer spake! f. 1*

*And would that I should pasture pregnant camels in a wilderness, and were a stranger among Rebt'a or Mudar! <sup>161</sup>*

*And oh for me that I were in Syria with the poorest subsistence, taking refuge with my own people, with my sight and hearing gone.*

*That I should profess that religion of the divine law which they profess! For the overloaded aged camel hath put up with its saddle-gall."*

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Hasan the Khazrejite : "And of the children of Jebela son of 'Eyhem are the sons of Resúl, the



princes of Yemen in the time of 'Islám; and I shall mention them in the section which I shall narrate after this, if God so wills, who be extolled. And with God is the guidance to success."

### SECTION.

#### ON THE GENEALOGY OF THE SONS OF RESÚL, PRINCES OF YEMEN IN 'ISLÁM.

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan the Khazreḡite, with whom may God deal in His goodness.

The name of Resúl<sup>162</sup> was Muḥammed son of Hárún son of 'Ebu'l-Feth son of Yúhà son of Rustem, who was of the progeny of Jebela son of 'Eyhem son of Jebela son of 'Eyhem son of Ḥārith son of Jebela son of Ḥārith son of Tha'leba son of 'Amr son of Jefna son of 'Amr the Little Tatterer son of 'Ámir the Water of the Sky son of Ḥāritha the Ghīṭrīf son of 'Imru'ū'l-Qays the Bīṭrīq son of Tha'leba the Buhlúl son of Mázín the Provision of Travel called also the Slayer of Famine son of 'Ezd son of Ghawth son of Nebt son of Málík son of Zeyd son of Kehlán son of Seba' son of Yeshjub son of Ya'rub son of Qaḥṭán.

f. 15<sup>b</sup> And it was of the decree of God, and of His preordainment in His foreknowledge, that when Jebela turned Nazarene, the son of 'Eyhem, as we have already narrated, and betook himself to the Romans on that day, he remained there until he died, some said, in his syntheism,<sup>163</sup> and some said in 'Islám, inasmuch as his said verses, in the beginning of which he sings "*The nobles have become Nazarenes by reason of a buffet,*" bear witness to his inclination towards 'Islám and to his remorse for his having quitted it. But God knows best his inmost thoughts.

And when he died there, his children remained there after him, as long as God willed, in the territories of the Romans. After that, his children, and whoever joined them of their people, emigrated to the territory of the Turkumán<sup>164</sup> and resided there with a tribe, out of the tribes of the Turkumán, called Menjik,<sup>165</sup>

the most noble of the tribes of the Turkumán. So they sojourned among them, and spoke in their language, and became far removed from the Arabians, and all tidings of them ceased with many of the people; so that many of the people formed the idea that they were of the Turkumán, whereas they had continued true to their genealogies.

And when the members of this house went forth to 'Iráq, they who knew them traced their pedigree to Ghassán, while those who knew them not traced them to the Turkumán. And they were the very house of valour and of leadership.

Now Muḥammed son of Hárún was very highly considered among them; so the 'Abbásiyy Khalífa<sup>166</sup> drew him nigh to himself and was familiar with him, and specially charged him with his missions to Syria and to Egypt, doing away with all impediment to communication between him and himself. Thus was applied to him the title of Resúl, by which he became known, so that his real name was abandoned until it became unknown, being known to but a few among the people. Later on he emigrated from 'Iráq to Syria, and from Syria to Egypt, together with such of his children as accompanied him.

Thus has spoken the author of the "Mudhafferian Memoirs"<sup>167</sup>: "Now when the sovereignty became secured to the sons of 'Eyyúb<sup>168</sup> in Egypt, there ceased not to be with them a party of the sons of Resúl, inasmuch as they were aware of the precedency of their office in the state, of the sublimity of their aspirations, the firmness of their courage, and the correctness of their views." f. 16<sup>a</sup>

So the sons of 'Eyyúb became unanimous as to delivering over to them Yemen. But certain of their counsellors remarked: "In that case they will strive to make themselves powerful against you there, and will contend with you in Syria." So they agreed in opinion as to sending them to Yemen in the suite of Melik Mu'adh<sup>dh</sup>am Túránsháh son of 'Eyyúb.<sup>169</sup>

Thus they went forth with him, after that his brother, Melik Násir Yúsuf son of 'Eyyúb<sup>170</sup> had appointed them his successors,<sup>171</sup> and had enjoined on them to bear him good company,

to deal sincerely with him in their daily intercourse with him, and in their service towards him.

Now they possessed in the Egyptian lands greatness and eminence, favour and celebrity. And they were five men<sup>172</sup> who served on horseback, all of one family: (1) Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Resúl; (2) Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl; (3) Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl; (4) Fakhru'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl; (5) Sherefu'd-Dín Músá son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl. And they were unsurpassed in bravery, persistence, and good measures in warfare; more especially the father of the party, Shemsu'd-Dín. And his son the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl could not be withstood by any number in battle, however numerous. Núru'd-Dín had a penetrating intellect and a sure judgment. Fakhru'd-Dín was generous and munificent; and Sherefu'd-Dín was a horseman, a poet, and eloquent. He it was who sang on this subject:

*"We are its protectors, and we repel from it; while a vile people consume its superabundance.*

f. 160 *(Seek ye) the refuge of God! Until we brandish it, flashes in the dust-cloud, which have a gleaming."*

And a certain one of the Egyptians overheard him as he said: "Yemen is gone from the hands of the sons of 'Eyyúb."

f. 16<sup>b</sup> Now the entry of Melik Mu'adhdhham into Yemen took place in the year 569 A.H. (A.D. 1173). He remained there the year A.H. 570 (A.D. 1174), and returned to Egypt in A.H. 571 (A.D. 1175). He left in Yemen lieutenants of his own, to bring him each year its revenue, until he died in A.H. 576 (A.D. 1180).

When his lieutenants received tidings of his decease they differed among themselves, and each one of them seized by force whatever was under his command. And when Melik Náşir was informed of their discord and of their seizure of the territories, he sent his brother Melik 'Azíz Tugh-Tekín son of 'Eyyúb,<sup>173</sup> with a detachment of the troops. And his entry

into Yemen was on Saturday, 13th Shewwál, A.H. 579 (about 28th January, 1184), where he remained until he died, the 26th Shewwál, 593 (about 11th September, 1197).

After him succeeded to the principality his son Mu'azz 'Ismá'il son of Tugh-Tekín son of 'Eyyúb,<sup>174</sup> who ceased not to rule there until he died slain by the hands of the Kurds on Sunday, 18th Rejeb, 598 (about 7th April, 1202). f. 1

The government was assumed after him by his brother Násir 'Eyyúb son of Tugh-Tekín son of 'Eyyúb,<sup>175</sup> who ceased not in it until he died poisoned in the night of Friday, 12th Muḥarrem, 610 (about 24th May, 1213), or, according to Jenediyy, 611 (1214), which, in my opinion, is the more correct.

The ruler of Egypt, Melik Násir,<sup>176</sup> was already dead, and his brother, Melik 'Ádil 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Eyyúb,<sup>177</sup> had succeeded to the government. So, when information reached him of what had occurred in Yemen, as to the murder of Mu'azz and the poisoning of his brother Násir, both of whom were sons of his own brother 'Azíz, he fitted out his son's son, Melik Mes'úd Šaláḥu'd-Dín Yúsuf son of Melik Kámil Muḥammed son of Melik 'Ádil 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Eyyúb, who was then at the age of puberty,<sup>178</sup> with a dense army to Yemen, with much money and great state. He also wrote to the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Resúl, and to the other Egyptian 'Emírs in Yemen, commanding them to give him their faithful support, and to be diligent in what was befitting their service to him. f. 17<sup>a</sup> f. v

The entry of Melik Mes'úd into Zebíd took place on Saturday, 2nd Muḥarrem, 612 (2nd May, 1215). But there had arrived before him Suleymán son of Taqiyyu'd-Dín 'Umer son of Sháhinsháh son of 'Eyyúb,<sup>179</sup> known as the Šúfiyy; and with him a party in the garb of the Šúfiyy.<sup>180</sup> His arrival was subsequent to the death of Násir 'Eyyúb son of Tugh-Tekín, the mother of the said Násir having called him, by reason of what she knew of him. And he was then in the fortress of Ta'izz.<sup>181</sup> And she had said to him: "Verily we fear that the Arabians will be moved by covetousness in respect of us, we being women

in whom is no resource. And God hath impelled thee towards us. Do thou then stand up for the government of the son of thy paternal uncle." Then he complied with this. So they allowed him to go up into the fortress, and they seated him on the seat of government. And the troops swore fealty to him.

But he was weak of intellect, with no capacity for government. So he busied himself with drinking and amusement, until the state was shaken, and the 'Imám Maṣṣúr 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza<sup>182</sup> seized upon Ṣan'á'<sup>183</sup> and Dhema'r,<sup>184</sup> the whole borders becoming disordered.

Then when Melik Mes'úd entered Zebíd at the date given above, and had installed himself in the Government House in Zebíd, his troops being weak and his beasts knocked up with fatigue, he sent to Suleymán son of Taqiyyu'd-Dín, who was then in the fortress of Ta'izz, one who should treat with him for peace on the conditions that the highlands should belong to Suleymán and the lowlands to Mes'úd.

But as soon as the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín<sup>185</sup> Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl heard of this, he went down to Melik Mes'úd and urged him to go up to Ta'izz. So he went up, and pitched against the fortress of Ta'izz. And the whole military forces of Yemen, to the last man, confronted him. Then said to him the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín: "I am of opinion that thou write a letter to the servants who are in the fortress of Ta'izz, in which thou shouldst say: 'I swear by God, who be extolled, that unless ye lay hold of Suleymán son of Taqiyyu'd-Dín, ye shall not obtain health from me.'" And he did so.

And when his letter reached the forces, they arose all together, went to Suleymán son of Taqiyyu'd-Dín, fastened the door of the sitting-room, and despatched to Melik Mes'úd a messenger to inform him of this. And when he knew of it he sent his lieutenant, who went up, laid hold of Suleymán, and bound him.

Then Melik Mes'úd went up into the fortress of Ta'izz, his ascent being on Sunday, 10th Ṣafer, A.H. 612 (10th June, 1215). And he took possession of the whole of Yemen from that date. And he sent Suleymán son of Taqiyyu'd-Dín to Egypt

bound. And the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín<sup>186</sup> 'Aliyy son of Resúl, as also his children, ceased not to dwell in Yemen with the sons of 'Eyyúb in the very best intelligence, the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín being wise, perfect, religious, pious, possessed of judgment, leadership, insight, and management. And he held with Seyfu'l-'Islám<sup>187</sup> the highest place and the most exalted degree; so much so that the women of Seyfu'l-'Islám used not to veil themselves from him, by reason of his uprightness, his good morals, and the hope for his blessing.

And when Melik Dháhir Beybárs,<sup>188</sup> lord of the territories of Egypt, wrote to Melik Mudhaffer,<sup>189</sup> on whom may God have grace, a letter in which he menaced him and threatened him, then Melik Mudhaffer, on whom may God have grace, answered him concerning it with what had the signification of: "We are under the protection of the blessing of our ancestor, and we fear no evil, thanks be to God and to the blessing of our ancestor, on whom may God have grace."

And the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín, on whom be God's grace, used to dwell in the canton of Jubla,<sup>190</sup> and one of his monuments there is the castle of 'Umán;<sup>191</sup> and many of his descendants dwell there unto this our day. He used to love the learned and the righteous, who used to love him for his good morals and the soundness of his innermost thoughts. f. 18

And he used often to visit the cantons of Ḥays.<sup>192</sup> And he frequented the righteous jurist Ḥasan son of 'Ebú Bekr, the Sheybánite.<sup>193</sup> Now the jurist Ḥasan the Sheybánite was one of the greatest of the righteous; and he used to guide him to good works and to gentleness towards the working-classes. And he never opposed him. And Sheybániyy was often invited by him, and occasionally he would felicitate him on the devolution of the sovereignty to his descendants. And his death took place, may God's grace be on him, in the month of Ṣafer, A.H. 614 (May, A.D. 1217), his children having already become chiefs, their reputation spread abroad, their fame heard to a distance; and there having been manifested, as to their valour and their pre-eminence, what never enters the surmise of any one of o.

mankind; they became celebrated in the regions, while the dwellers in towns and in the deserts knew of them.

Now the 'Atá-Bek<sup>194</sup> of Melik Mes'úd at the time of his entrance into Yemen was Jemálu'd-Dín Fuleyt, whom he sent to Şan'á' to war with the 'Imám Mañşúr 'Abdu'lláh son of Ĥamza in the month of the first Jumádá,<sup>195</sup> 612 (September, 1215). And the war ceased not between them until the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of Ĥamza died, his death occurring on Thursday, 12th Muḥarrem,<sup>196</sup> 614 (about 20th April, 1217). Subsequently, the 'Atá-Bek died also on Thursday, 30th Rebi' the First,<sup>197</sup> of the same year (about 10th July, 1217), at the well-named Khawláníyy,<sup>198</sup> being buried in Şan'á' on Friday, 10th Rebi' the Second (about 18th July, 1217).

When Melik Mes'úd heard of the death of the 'Atá-Bek Fuleyt<sup>199</sup> he went forth to Şan'á',<sup>200</sup> which he entered on Saturday, 8th Jumádá the First (about 15th August, 1217), taking possession of the fortress of Kewkebán<sup>201</sup> on Thursday, 5th Jumádá the Second (about 15th September, 1217). About this date also was peace concluded between Melik Mes'úd as Sultan, and the 'Eshráf;<sup>202</sup> Melik Mes'úd returning from Şan'á' to Yemen<sup>203</sup> in the month of Rejeb<sup>204</sup> of the same year (October, 1217), and dwelling with the sons of Reşúl, in whom he placed confidence, whom he associated with familiarly, and whom he set over the more important provinces as governors. He admired what he witnessed in them as to loyalty and firmness of valour.

So he set over Şan'á' the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín, giving it to him as a fief. He also set the 'Emír Núru'd-Dín over the forts of the Waşáb<sup>205</sup> country, where he resided a certain space. He then appointed him to the governorship of Mekka the Honoured,<sup>206</sup> where also he resided a space. It was in the time of his governorship there that the birth took place there of his son Melik Mudḥaffer Yúsuf son of 'Umer,<sup>207</sup> who was surnamed thence the Mekkite. He was born in the year A.H. 619 (A.D. 1222).

When he removed him from the government of Mekka, he

made him his 'Atá-Bek and Controller of the affairs of his soldiery, as also of the whole of his administration. So, when matters became established, and all wars and seditions were appeased, Melik Mes'úd undertook a journey to Egypt, setting out from Zebíd on the middle day of the month of Ramaḍán,<sup>208</sup> in the year A.H. 620 (about 10th October, 1223), and leaving in Yemen Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl as his lieutenant, with general powers of vicegerency. He also left Bedru'd-Dín, brother of Núru'd-Dín, specially governor in Ṣan'á'. And the troops in garrison remained behind for the two. So he departed on the date above-mentioned.

Now there arose Yez'um the Súfiyy in Ḥaql,<sup>209</sup> in the countries of Zebíd, and in the mountain of the Benú Muslim, named Saḥammer,<sup>210</sup> calling the people to himself and telling them that he was an inviter for a true Antistes.<sup>211</sup> So there joined themselves to him a large assemblage of the rabble and scum of the people. Then Núru'd-Dín<sup>212</sup> set out against him, having with him Ráshid son of Mudhaffer son of Herish.

Then said Yez'um the Súfiyy to those who were with him: "If they attack us to-morrow we will defeat them, and we will slay Ráshid son of Mudhaffer." Then the fight took place, and of a chance there happened what he had predicted. Upon which the people's love for him augmented, and their belief in him. This battle of Yez'um the Súfiyy took place in the year A.H. 622 (A.D. 1225); after which his affairs became involved in perplexity, many of his lies and the unsoundness of his tenets became manifest to the people, and he set out a fugitive from one country to another.

After that the battle of 'Uṣr<sup>213</sup> occurred, between the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl and the Sheríf 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the 'Imám Maṣṣúr 'Abdu'llah son of Ḥamza. For the Sheríf 'Izzu'd-Dín collected his musters of horse and foot; his horse being of seven hundred cavaliers, and his foot of two thousand infantry. Their object was Ṣan'á', after the departure therefrom to Dherwán<sup>214</sup> of the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín in aid of his brother Núru'd-Dín subsequently to his defeat.



This departure of the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín from Şan'á' to Dherwán took place on Sunday, 16th Rejeb, 623 (about 10th July, 1226). He reached Dherwán on Monday, 17th Rejeb. But, when he received intelligence of the departure of the Sheríf 'Izzu'd-Dín towards Şan'á', he returned to Şan'á', his brother Núru'd-Dín returning with him in all speed.

They arrived ; but there had also come the 'Emír Sálím son of 'Aliyy son of Hátim, and the 'Emír 'Ulwán son of Bishr son of Hátim, to San'á', with horse and foot from Dhemermer<sup>215</sup> and 'Arús,<sup>216</sup> so protecting the city. The 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín had already pitched in 'Uşr and laid himself out to do battle, going down with the intent of attacking Şan'á'. Then the garrison went forth, and those of Hemdán<sup>217</sup> who were with them. So mutual skirmishing took place between them in the early morning of Wednesday, 26th Rejeb, 623 (about 20th July, 1226), the fight continuing till the sun was risen.

And while they were thus doing battle the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín arrived, with his brother Núru'd-Dín and those who accompanied them. The people continued to fight, and some deaths occurred on either side, each party holding out in defence of its own warriors.

The two 'Emírs went into the castle, and their people breakfasted at their table. Then said the 'Emír Bedru'd-Din :  
 f. 19<sup>b</sup> "Let us first repose ourselves ; then, if God will, we will enter the bath, and then go forth." So they remained a short time in the castle, and then entered the bath. When they came forth from it the winds sprang up, and the troops collected who had arrived with them, to the number of about a hundred horsemen, not many more, nor many less.

And when they issued from the gate, the 'Emír Núru'd-Dín halted with a few of the horsemen, as a support and reserve to which the people might rally, in case they were routed. The  
 80 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín advanced with the others, the people being still engaged in the battle. Then he arranged his companions, exhorting them to fight with a heart. He turned his face towards them right and left, shouting: "Heyy! Heyy!" They responded:

"Heyy! Heyy!" This was his battle-cry among his troops. Then he charged into the mass, and resolutely cut his way into them. The rest of his companions charged also, and persistently cut their way in with him. So God favoured them with help and success; the forces of the 'Eshráf becoming broken, so that not one of them could stand firm, and all turned their backs in retreat.

And he effected a widespread slaughter among them; so much so that it is said he broke three spears, and that the sword in his hand was used up, while he made the handle of his mace fly in splinters. He turned not back from the affray, save with his stirrup-strap in his hand, and the stirrup therewith. And it is related that he killed on that day one horseman with another, knocking down the one with the other. So slaughter and captivity ceased not from among them until the night came on and the darkness enveloped them.

There was killed the Sheykh Mukhliṣu'd-Dín Jábír son of Muqbil, after he had done good service. And of the chiefs of the Arabians there was slain a multitude. There befell the Sherif 'Izzu'd-Dín a wound from an arrow in his eye, after he had done battle himself and such of his brothers as were with him. And they passed the whole night travelling in the direction of Thulá,<sup>218</sup> and they alighted not from the backs of their horses until they had reached Thulá. 81

Their host had already dispersed; and there remained not any with them, save forty horsemen, who were the Sherifs and their slaves. Respecting this event the 'Imádite<sup>219</sup> of Shíráz<sup>220</sup> has sung, who was the poet of Melik Mes'úd, on whom be God's grace:

*"Is it not thus that unto the kingdom the steps are mounted, and  
degrees of fame rise high to the confusion of enemies?"* f. 20\*

*Conquests that have spread in the earth until its eastern and  
its western limits became impregnated with the sweet odour  
thereof.*

*By the sword of the generous one, the son of Resúl, were the*

*bases of a kingdom firmly established whose lord was absent therefrom.*

*They retreated; and from the thrusts of the spears in their backs were there eyeballs, and from the sword-cuts eyebrows."*

And the Sultan <sup>221</sup> 'Ulwán son of Bishr son of Hátim, the Námite, wrote to the Sheríf 'Izzu'd-Dín Muhammed son of the 'Imám Mansúr 'Abdu'lláh son of Hamza son of Suleymán son of Hamza :

*" O nobles of mankind of every tribe, and most éminent in high qualities of them who vaunt ;*

*And most firm of them in might at a time of turmoil, and most protective of them when protectors are lacking ;*

*I congratulate you on the advent of the festival, as a bounden duty from me ; and may you see a festival each year !*

*And I present unto you my most distinct gratulation, to the led among you, and to the leader ;*

ov *And I let you hear : Is it true what we have heard ? For there satisfies not save the true discourse ;*

*That your levies flew apart as rays, not dreading, verily, a future of reproach ;*

*And turned back, not acquiring eulogium, in flight, without a charge and without mutual protection ;*

*Save ten ; and may God preserve alive the ten who mutually protected one another of the sons of Shem (Sám) and Ham (Hám) ;*

*And there was none present of the 'Emírs, save Shihábu'd-Dín, of laudable standing ;*

*And Núru'd-Dín and Bedr the one wished for—lions of battle in the day of collision ;*

*And their horsemen, up to a hundred and ten ; they being partly spearmen and in part archers ;*

f. 20<sup>b</sup> *What, then, will ye do when there shall conjoin the cohorts of the King in Yemen and in the North,*

*And there shall glisten the banner of Mes'úd among them as a gleaming meteor over the clouds of the ocean ?*

*There shall ye repent ; and there will be no asylum, when the divine decree draws near at the time of death.*

*Now, if the advice be accepted of one who feels friendship—for verily, sincere advice is one of the customs of the generous ; Ye will come, submissive, unto a King, noble of soul, whose favours are effective ;*

*A youth, whose shout of admiration the sons of 'Eyyúb have quavered ; a keen sword, by the passage of which the sharp sword-point becomes notched ;*

*And the affairs were made a necklace unto him when he showed himself one morning neither a dullard nor void of penetration ;*

*Saying on that occasion a unique saying, witty, poetical, beautiful in arrangement :*

*Give thou, then, the bow to its shaper, and leave it ; for thou hast already deposited it in the hand of an archer ;*

*Who, with his judgment and sword, has repelled assault from them, and has stood up in their kingdom with a most sufficient upstanding."*

Then the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Imám Maṣṣūr 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza son of Suleymán son of Ḥamza answered him, saying :

*"Hast thou been rendered sleepless by the lightning that gleamed without rain, and thus hast not tasted the savour of sleep, To think of a meeting with or the parting from slender-waisted damsels, whose faces illumine the shade of the darkness ?*

*May God guard the regions and their inhabitants ; and may the downpour of the clouds satiate their pastures !*

*And be not thou surprised at my remembrance ; for verily I have called to mind the alighting-places of the tribe of the nobles ;*

*But be surprised at the mention of the arrival of Hind ; a letter which has come to us from an illustrious prince,*

*Their crowned descendant, whom the milch-camels of glory suckled before the weaning,*

*And he consigned to it a gratulation, so that we lacked not  
finger-tips that whispered a most glowing salutation ;  
And he tells of the mutual attack of the horsemen in true words  
that he speaks in his saying :*

*Namely, that our levies flew apart as rays, and turned back  
without charging and without mutual protection,  
Save ten, who raided without intelligence and then returned by  
night like arrows ;*

*Although the eminent 'Emír was among them, 'Imádu'd-Dín,  
whose rank was praiseworthy.*

89 *Verily, there have visited our house terrible parties, armed with  
every Indian blade, keen and trenchant.*

*But still the merciful God kept him from us by an obstacle,  
so that he became not present when the day of terror was  
sultry.*

*But how dost thou account this saying sincere friendship, when  
solid rocks have split through it ?*

*And then, O for the wonder ! Thou repellst from our sanctuary,  
but thou attributest us to the act of the vile !*

*But there is none, save us, to butt their rock, we sons of Ḥasan.  
Then, withhold thou thy speech.*

*And, by the life of thy father, were they lions, they would frolic  
youthfully to one of encounters in warfare."*

And the Sultan Mudrik son of Ḥátim son of Bishr son of Ḥátim sang, as from the mouths of the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, and of Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, who together sent it to Egypt :

*"Ask ye both, of her with the string of pearls and the aquiline  
nose at 'Uşur, about the most trusty sword-cuts and spear-  
thrusts.*

*And her who witnessed Şan'á'. Had it not been for its trial,  
she would not have gone away in fright, or stayed in safety.*

*And already had the fair-skinned modest ones, out of dread of  
captivity by our enemies, raised our worst suspicions.*

*So when the two hosts mutually neared in the evening, the owls  
went forth therein from them, and the gazelles from us.*

*And we went to the castle of Qulleys,<sup>222</sup> to grasp the goblets and  
to take supper with the boon companions who were of us.*

*And then the horsemen who offered us to sip the spear-heads,  
after that they had struck at us from this side and that.*

*They flogged towards us with their whips in ignorance, but when  
we mutually knew each other, they flogged with them away  
from us.*

*And then our custom. Do the swords miss us when they fall  
short? By the time the enemies perish, we come to an end.*

*And when we wish, we trample down our foes; and we harbour  
not buried enmity, nor spite.*

*And may news from you never cease to gladden us, as your  
informant from us has rejoiced you in Egypt."*

And when a knowledge of this event reached Melik Mes'úd and the sons of 'Eyyúb in the countries of Egypt, Melik Mes'úd returned speedily to Yemen; but no repose for him there became permanent. His entry into the fortress of Ta'izz took place on Monday, 27th Şafer, 624 (about 20th February, 1227). He remained there the rest of Şafer, the two months Rebf', the two months Jumádá, and some days of Rejeb. He then proceeded to Jened.<sup>223</sup> And when the 15th of Rejeb was come, Melik Mes'úd fell suddenly upon the sons of Resúl, seized Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy, Fakhru'd-Dín 'Ebú-Bekr son of 'Aliyy, and Sherefu'd-Dín Músá son of 'Aliyy, whom he bound and cast into prison.

Thus saith the author of the 'Iqd: <sup>224</sup> "And the fear of the sons of 'Eyyúb for the principality of Yemen through the sons of Resúl became vehement. And they dreaded no one of the Arabians, nor of the Ghuzz,<sup>225</sup> with a dread like unto their fear of them. And this, because of what they witnessed in them of valour, persistence, loftiness of aim, far-reaching fame, good administration, perfection of all noble qualities, possession of command over men, a building up of honour, and the gain

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11

f. 22<sup>a</sup>

of eulogy. And for this reason there was completed by them against them that which set broken bones and made the adversary vanquished; so the command of God was a fore-ordained providence."

It is even said that he seized Núru'd-Dín also, but that when they were all in chains he set him free the same day, giving him his liberty. For he had already made him very intimate, and for this cause had appointed him his lieutenant on the occasion of his former journey, as on that of the second, and had made him the 'Atá-Bek of his troops.

He sent his brothers, bound, to 'Aden,<sup>226</sup> despatching them subsequently by sea to the territories of Egypt under guard and in fetters.

Now Núru'd-Dín possessed in an extreme degree intelligence, craft, munificence, kindness, elevation of character, good administration, and perfection of leadership. So Mes'úd placed on his neck the whole of his affairs. He then went up to Ḥaqlu Yahşib<sup>227</sup> and took possession of the country of the Benú Seyf<sup>228</sup> in the month of Dhú'l-Hijja, 624 (November, 1227).  
 11 He remained at the Ḥaql about three months, and then returned to the fortress of Ta'izz, where he stayed a certain period, and afterwards resolved on a return to the territories of Egypt. He made his preparations for this, and went down to the city of Zebíd. He next set out thence in the direction of Syria in the first Rebí', 626 (February, 1229), according to Ḥátimiyy,<sup>229</sup> but according to Jenediyy,<sup>230</sup> 625 (1228).

f. 22<sup>b</sup> The cause of his return to the countries of Egypt was that his paternal uncle, Melik Mu'adh<sup>dh</sup>ham 'Ísá<sup>231</sup> son of Melik 'Ádil 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Eyyúb, had departed to the mercy of God, who be extolled, he being then sovereign of Damascus. So his son, the Sultan Melik Kámil,<sup>232</sup> wrote to him bidding him come to him, that he might give him Damascus. And he rejoiced with vehement joy; so much so, that he set out on the journey, although sickness had already set in with him.

And he called for his 'Atá-Bek, Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, and said to him: "I have already decided

on the journey, and I have appointed thee my lieutenant in Yemen. Now, should I die, thou art more worthy of the principality of Yemen than my brothers; for thou hast served me, and I have recognized in thee loyalty and devotion. And if I live, thou art as thou hast been; beware, then, that thou leave not any one of my kin to enter Yemen, even though my son, Melik Kámil,<sup>233</sup> should come unto thee folded up in a letter. And if he should be urgent towards thee, do thou inform me, that I and my paternal uncle 'Eshref<sup>234</sup> may unite against him, to war with him and occupy him."

11"

Then said unto him Núru'd-Dín: "I fear that my brothers will oppose me."<sup>235</sup> But Melik Mes'úd answered: "I will be answerable towards thee for the matter of them." So he bound them then; though it has been said that he did not bind them until he commanded the troops to mount; for he feared the outbreak of something on their part, through the bias of the greater part of the soldiery to them.

'Ebú Mudhaffer Sibṭ son of Jewziyy<sup>236</sup> has narrated in his book, "The Mirror of the Time" (Mir'átu'z-Zemán), that Melik Mes'úd prepared for his journey in very great state, such that no prince had ever given him a precedent for. Among the rest were 1,000 eunuchs, 500 cases of gorgeous stuffs and clothing, 300 loads of aloes wood yet fresh and of the finest ambergris, 400 slave-girls, of gems, pearls, and precious stones an untold store, 70,000 pieces of Chinese brocade wrought with gold, and of works of art what cannot be limited as to number. So much so that, as was said, the ships that were insufficient for the whole were seventy in number.

This so happened because he had it proclaimed in the seaports: "Whoever wishes to travel to the lands of Egypt, let him travel with Melik Mes'úd," some time before his departure. Then the merchants came forward from all quarters with every kind of merchandise and commodities. And he came to them in the frontier city of 'Aden. There he said to them: "Sell ye unto me the commodities ye have with you, so that ye may be freed from the tithes." So they sold unto

f. 23\*



him, and he received them from them, and wrote in their favour to Yemen for the values thereof, giving them drafts upon every district. So they cried out: "Alas! Ruin!" But he took no notice of them, and the greater part of them never realized one tittle therefrom.

The son of Jewziyy has given the numbers of the different sorts with which he journeyed, and has magnified them until the hearer can scarcely give credit thereto. For this reason I have omitted mention of them. Says he: "He was a tyrant, vehement in injustice; his conduct towards the subjects was bad, and he was a great shedder of blood; so much so that it was said of him that he had put to death in Yemen 800 Sherífs, descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥuseyn ('Ewládu'l-Ḥasaneyn)." Such is his narrative in "The Mirror of the Time"; and on him lies the onus of proof.<sup>237</sup>

Thus says 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan the Khazrejite: "This is a thing which man's mind will not admit, and which is not confirmed by report. Furthermore, there are not to be found in all Yemen 100 males of the notables of the Sherífs; and no one learned in history in Yemen has related this, or anything resembling it. But God knows best."

Now when Melik Mes'úd journeyed from Yemen, as we have related, he arrived at Mekka the Venerated, his sickness having become serious. So he remained in Mekka a certain number of days until he expired there on Monday, 14th Jumádá i, 626 (about 15th April, 1228). Jenediyy has said: "He died poisoned in Mekka<sup>238</sup> in Rejeb, or, as has been asserted, in Sha'bán, 625 (June or July, 1227)." The son of 'Abdu'l-Mejíd<sup>239</sup> has stated: "Melik Mes'úd died in the first Rebí', 626 (February, 1228)"; and so affirms the Sherif 'Idris.<sup>240</sup> Ḥátimiyy relates: "And he gave it as his testament that his horses should not have their manes and tails plucked out, or their saddles reversed for him; also, that he should be buried at Mekka among the strangers." He further relates: "And it is reported that he begged the gift of two pieces of stuff from one of the people to be used as his grave-clothes."

And his age on the day he died was 27 years. But God knows best.

And he carried off with him the whole of the produce of the principality of Yemen, both its silver and its gold, its rare jewels, its curiosities, its young male and female slaves. So his slave, the 'Emír Ḥusámu'd-Dín Lu'lu', went on, with the children of his lord, his dependents, his property, his suite, and the whole of his retinue to Egypt. And he had appointed in Ṣan'á' the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Ebú Zekerá, and made his lieutenant in the whole of Yemen the 'Emír Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, for its level parts and its steepes, for its land and its sea. And this was what God, who be extolled, had willed and preordained by the manifestation of the word of the Resúliyy kingdom,<sup>241</sup> by the making possible its expansion, by the spreading of the wing of its justice, by the furtherance of its might, by the curtailment of the shadow of the 'Eyyúbite<sup>242</sup> domination, and by the disappearance of its rule.

f. 24<sup>a</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

*On the Rise of the Manşuriyy<sup>243</sup> Sovereignty, and its causes.*

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan the Khazrejite: We have already narrated in the preceding chapter what had been the decree and preordination of God as to the selection by Melik Mes'úd of our Lord and Master Melik Manşúr (Núru'd-Dín) 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl as his lieutenant over the whole of Yemen, its levels and its steepes, its land and its sea, as also his isolating him in the command to the exclusion of all the other Egyptian 'Emírs,<sup>244</sup> his having cleared Yemen of the remainder of the sons of his mother,<sup>245</sup> and also what God had made innate in him as to uprightness of outward act and straightforwardness of inward propensity, as to the love of the people towards him, and as to their submission to his command, willingly or by constraint.

1v

f. 24<sup>b</sup>

And together with all this, he was prudent, enterprising, quick in action, an able administrator, penetrating in judgment, wise, placid. And there took place in Yemen, as to his approaching assumption of sovereignty, certain presages and portents.<sup>246</sup> Among these is what is related of him, that he said: "On a certain night I had become anxious on account of an occurrence that had happened to me; and when I had taken my place on my couch, and something like a watch of the night had elapsed, I heard a buzzing sound in the air, and I lifted up my head, when lo! an 'Ifrit,<sup>247</sup> fleeing from the flame until he cast himself down by my side, panting; and, from his bulk, he was as it were an oil-press. So I arose from my couch, and I took the utensil of water and poured

it into his mouth. And when he had become tranquil, and his terror had left him, he said :

“ ‘Do thou, O ‘Ebū’l-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>248</sup> mediate and give direction to the sovereignty from ‘Aden to ‘Aydhab.’<sup>249</sup>

“And then he went away from me.”

And it is related that three groups of righteous men came to him ; and the first said : “Peace be upon thee, O ‘Atā-Bek.”

And he answered them : “He is my brother ; and peace be upon you, and the mercy of God.” Then the second spoke : “Thou art the ‘Atā-Bek and more than that.” To which he replied : “And what besides that ?” Then the third said : “Sultan of Yemen ; and princes thereof will be of thy progeny to the end of time.”<sup>250</sup> 11

The author of the *Sīretu’l-Mudhafferīyya*<sup>251</sup> has said : The righteous Sheykh Suleymán son of Manşūr son of Jureyba informed me, saying : “When Melik Mes‘úd came from the countries of Egypt, and was passing along the road of the vale of Qaḥriyya,<sup>252</sup> there were on the upper border of the roadway two Sheykhs of the holy elders, one of whom was Mughíth and the other Hedes. Then said the one to the other : ‘Seest thou what I see ?’ And his companion asked : ‘What seest thou ?’ So he answered : ‘I see a person, such that, when he goes on, all the soldiery go on with him ; and when he stops, all the soldiery stop also.’ Then said his companion : ‘Maybe it is Melik Mes‘úd.’ But the other rejoined : ‘Nay ; rather it is Melik Manşūr ‘Umer son of ‘Aliyy son of Resúl ; and the sovereignty will be with his posterity to the end of time.’” f. 25<sup>a</sup>

The author of the *Sīret* adds : “I heard this narrative verbatim from my grandfather, on whom be God’s mercy.”

It is also related that a man was upon Mount Mewsim, which is a small isolated mountain in the vale of ‘Islīqiyya, one of the borders of the Sihám district ;<sup>253</sup> and he was hoeing a cotton-plant which belonged to him there, it being during the night ; when lo ! Melik Mes‘úd came on his way in company of his soldiery and his military music. So the man heard the uproar of the music and the soldiery, upon which he sat down 11

astonished. Then he heard a speaker say from a spot near to the mountain: "Go thou forward, like the arrow impelled by the bowstring; there is naught for him of his kingdom, save to travel; alas! in the days there are other turns."

Then he said: "So I went towards the site of the voice, but I saw nothing and found no one; so I knew it came from the *genii*,<sup>254</sup> and I also knew that the sovereignty of Melik Mes'úd was for someone else."

It is also recounted that the righteous Sheykh Muhammed son of 'Ebú Bekr, the Hákemite, lord of 'Awája,<sup>255</sup> saw the banner of Melik Mes'úd on the day of his arrival from Egypt; on which he said: "This is the last banner that will come from Egypt to Yemen."

#### SECTION.

And when Melik Mes'úd died on the date above specified, and information of his decease reached Yemen, Sultan Núru'd-Dín took universal steps, and conceived in his secret thoughts independent sovereignty, though he outwardly showed himself the lieutenant of Melik Mes'úd, making no alteration in the coinage or in the public prayer for the sovereign.<sup>256</sup> He set himself to appoint over the forts and towns those with whom he felt satisfied and in whom he had confidence, removing those from whom he feared opposition. From whomsoever disobedience or opposition was openly displayed, he took steps to put him to death or to take him prisoner.

Now Sultan Núru'd-Dín was a man of decision and prudence, munificent, kind, quick in action. He was also fond of fighting, not wearying of battle. And furthermore, he was possessed of sense and cunning. He was then residing in Zebíd, acting as governor of the Low Countries.<sup>257</sup> He established his bases, and then journeyed towards Ta'izz in Shewwál, 626 (August, 1229).

He pitched against the fortress of Ta'izz. He blockaded it straitly, and pinched the inhabitants until he had reduced them to extremities; so much so, that it is said they had to pay for wheat alone thirty thousand royal ducats.

In the year A.H. 627 (A.D. 1229-30) he received possession of the fort of Ta'ker,<sup>258</sup> the fort of Khaded,<sup>259</sup> the city of Ṣan'á' and its dependencies. This he gave as a fief to his nephew 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl. Upon which the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Ebú Zekerá went up to the fort of Birásh<sup>260</sup> out of fear of Melik Manšúr.

In the year A.H. 628 (A.D. 1230-1) he received possession of the fort of Ḥabb and of Beyt-'Izz.<sup>261</sup> He also pitched against the fortress of Ta'izz a second time, capturing it by a peaceful vi surrender at the hands of the judge Mekín. And he married Bintu Ḥawza,<sup>262</sup> whose governor was the eunuch Nidḥámu'd-Dín Mukhtaṣṣ,<sup>263</sup> and he was a man of intelligence, wise, and perfect in his service to those of the sovereign family.

He then went up to Ṣan'á', and pitched against Birásh, in which was the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Ebú Zekerá, in Ramaḍán, 628 (July, 1231). At about this time there came to him the Sherífs to the fortress of Dhemermer. These were the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín Yahyá son of Ḥamza, with his children, the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám, with all his brethren, and Wehhás son of 'Ebú Qásim. So they mutually made oaths of amity and reciprocal support, making between them a general peace. And they said to him: "O our lord Núru'd-Dín, do thou assume the sovereignty in Yemen, and we will serve thee; we will make an oath of fealty to thee to the effect that the sons of 'Eyyúb shall not enter Yemen."<sup>264</sup> So they took the oath of fealty to that effect; and they recom- f. 26<sup>a</sup> mended to the Sultan the repair of the fort of Birk,<sup>265</sup> while Núru'd-Dín recommended to them the repair of the fortress of Mida'<sup>266</sup> Thus was peace concluded between them in the most friendly manner, and no hostilities occurred between them until the days of the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn in the year A.H. 646 (A.D. 1248), save once only, the cause of which I shall relate in its proper place in the book.

And when the conclusion of peace was arranged, the Sultan vr Núru'd-Dín gratified them with considerable sums of money

and with sumptuous robes of honour, confirming them in their several countries. And when they dispersed in consequence of the peace and friendly relations, the position of the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Ebú Zekerá became embarrassed, and he knew that his power of resistance had failed. So he wrote to the Sultan Núru'd-Dín in the sense of a pacification. Then the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín went down from the fort to present himself to the Sultan; and he walked on foot in his presence, bearing on his shoulder the horse-cloth. So the Sultan presented him with a magnificent dress of honour, made him large gifts, contracted his own daughter to him in marriage, and went down to Yemen in his company. The 'Emír 'Esedu'd Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl went down also in his company. And when the Sultan was settled down in the house of his kingdom, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín returned to Şan'á'.

f. 26<sup>b</sup>)f. 27<sup>a</sup>v<sup>r</sup>

In the year A.H. 629 (A.D. 1230-1) the Sultan Núru'd-Dín went up to Şan'á' a second time and received possession of the forts of Bukur,<sup>267</sup> Kewkebán, and Birásh. He then sent to Mekka the Honoured an 'Emír named 'Ibnu 'Aydán, together with the Sherif Rájiḥ son of Qatáda; and in their company he forwarded a large amount of treasure. This was the first military force that he fitted out and despatched to Hijáz.<sup>268</sup> They pitched their camp in the wide watercourse 'Ebtāḥ,<sup>269</sup> and besieged the 'Emír who was in Mekka on the part of Melik Kámil.<sup>270</sup> His name was Tugh-Tekín,<sup>271</sup> and he had with him 200 horsemen. And Tugh-Tekín distributed among the people of Mekka a considerable sum of money, got them to swear fealty, and put his trust in them. But the Sherif Rájiḥ<sup>272</sup> entered into correspondence with them, calling to their minds the kindness of the Sultan Núru'd-Dín in the days when he was 'Emír over Mekka on the part of Melik Mes'úd, this government of the Sultan Núru'd-Dín in Mekka having been in the year A.H. 617 (A.D. 1220-1), at which time the birth of the Sultan Melik Mudḥaffer occurred at Mekka the Honoured.

So when the Sherif entered into correspondence with them,

as has been mentioned, their chief men inclined to the military force of the heaven-assisted Sultan. Tugh-Tekín perceived this, took the alarm for his own safety, and went forth in flight to Yenbu<sup>273</sup> together with his suite. Now there was in Yenbu<sup>273</sup> a garrison for Melik Kámil, and an armoury, and stores. So they remained there, and sent a messenger to Melik Kámil in Egypt, giving him information of the arrival of the troops of the lord of Yemen, and of what had taken place on the part of the inhabitants of Mekka.

Then Melik Kámil equipped a large force, and placed in command over them the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín son of the Sheykh of Sheykhs. And he sent to the Sheríf Sinja, 'Emír of Medína,<sup>274</sup> and to the Sheríf 'Ebú Sa'd,<sup>275</sup> a message that they should be with him. And they were in the service of Melik Kámil. So they arrived at Mekka, and they besieged 'Ibnu 'Aydán with the Sheríf Rájiḥ. They fought with them; 'Ibnu 'Aydán was killed, the people of Mekka were routed, and a great number of them slain.

v<sup>a</sup>

f. 27

Now Tugh-Tekín manifested his hate towards them, and for three days gave up Mekka to pillage, thus inspiring an extreme dread among its inhabitants. When Melik Kámil received intelligence of what he had thus done, he was wroth with him, dismissed him from his office, recalled him to Egypt, and sent to Mekka a governor other than he, who was named 'Ibnu Maḥalliyy,<sup>276</sup> and who arrived at Mekka in the year A.H. 630 (A.D. 1232-3).

And in this same year A.H. 630 did the Sultan Núru'd-Dín command money to be coined in his name, and he also ordered the preachers to offer public prayer for him in every region of Yemen.<sup>277</sup> Unto this it was that Ḥārith the Rá'ish had alluded in his saying, as aforementioned, where he has it:

*"And his divinely-assisted banner will appear among them according to the numeral letters for 630 (Ḥ A.H.)."*

And this we have already narrated in the first chapter. And in God is success.

(f. 28

(f. 28



Then in the year A.H. 631 (A.D. 1233-4) Sultan Nurú'd-Dín sent a large treasure to the Sheríf Rájih son of Qatáda, together with an imposing military force. So the Sheríf Rájih moved forward with the Manşurian forces, and they expelled the Egyptian troops from Mekka.<sup>278</sup> In that year, too, Sultan Núru'd-Dín despatched a considerable offering to the Khalífa at Baghdád, the Khalífa at that time being Mustanşir son of Dháhir<sup>279</sup> the 'Abbáside, who was the father of Musta'sim bi-'lláh. He requested from him the diploma of sovereignty, his appointment being that of a lieutenant, as is the ordinary practice of princes. The answer came back saying: "The diploma will reach thee by the eve of the day of sacrifices." So he set out from Yemen in the intention of performing the pilgrimage of Mekka; and he accomplished the pilgrimage upon blood-camels, a commodious pilgrimage. But the Sheríf Rájih son of Qatáda fled from him, and did not perform the pilgrimage in his company. So he was grieved at heart. But when he had completed the rite and returned to Yemen, the Sheríf went back to Mekka.<sup>280</sup>

Now the Khalífa had sent the diploma and the commission to him in charge of the pilgrim-caravan from 'Iráq. The pilgrim-caravan of 'Iráq reached the half of the journey, when the Arabians barred their onward passage and filled in all the watering-places. So the pilgrims were detained on the road until the time of the pilgrimage was gone by; they therefore returned to Baghdád, and not one of them joined the pilgrimage that year.<sup>281</sup>

In the year A.H. 632 (A.D. 1234-5) the curtain of the Cubical House<sup>282</sup> came from Baghdád, and with it a messenger from the Khalífa Mustanşir to the Sultan Núru'd-Dín. So he suspended the curtain<sup>283</sup> and entered Yemen to the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, to whom he conveyed the information that the diploma and the commission<sup>284</sup> would reach him by sea through the road of Başra. And accordingly the diploma and the commission of lieutenantcy reached him that year. The envoy of the Khalífa to the Sultan Núru'd-Dín with the diploma and the commission

was a personage named Ma'áli; and the Sultan Núru'd-Dín was at that time in Jened. So the envoy mounted the pulpit<sup>285</sup> and said: "O Núru'd-Dín, verily the mighty one pronounces a greeting unto thee, and says: 'I have bestowed Yemen upon thee as an alms, and I have set thee over it.'" He then clothed him with the sacred Khalífian robe of honour on the pulpit.

f. 30<sup>a</sup>

And in this same year A.H. 632 Sultan Núru'd-Dín sent to Mekka the Honoured lamps of gold and of silver<sup>286</sup> for the venerated Cubical House. He also sent a large treasure by the hand of 'Ibnu'l-Başriyy to the Sheríf Rájih son of Qatáda,<sup>287</sup> and gave orders for raising a force of cavalry and infantry, conveying also notice that troops were on their way to Mekka from Egypt.

vv

Then, when 'Ibnu'l-Başriyy reached Mekka and had hung up the lamps, those Egyptian forces arrived at Mekka also before the Sheríf had enlisted a single man. So the Sheríf Rájih with 'Ibnu'l-Başriyy set out for Yemen. The Egyptian force was of 500 horsemen under several commanders, the first bearing the name of 'The solitary wild beast' (Waḥdu's-Sebu'); the second, 'The Crossbow-man' ('el-Bunduqiyy); the third, 'Ibnu 'Ebí Zekerá; the fourth, 'Ibnu Bertás; and the fifth, the Commander-in-Chief, an 'Emír who was named Gabriel (Jebre'il). So they entered Mekka and remained there.

In the year A.H. 633 (A.D. 1235-6) the Sultan Núru'd-Dín equipped a force from Yemen, setting over them the 'Emír Shihábu'd-Dín son of 'Aydán. He sent also an amount of treasure to the Sheríf Rájih son of Qatáda, commanding him to enrol troops, which he did. So when they had come near to Mekka, the Egyptian force sallied forth against them. And they joined battle in a locality named Kharífeyn,<sup>288</sup> situated between Mekka and Sirreyn.<sup>289</sup> The Arabians were routed, and the 'Emír Shihábu'd-Dín son of 'Aydán was taken prisoner. He was put in bonds by the 'Emír Gabriel, and sent to Egypt.

vv

(f. 30<sup>b</sup>)

In the year A.H. 634 (A.D. 1236-7) the Sultan Núru'd-Dín received possession of the castles of Hajja and Mikháfa,<sup>290</sup>

(f. 31<sup>a</sup>)f. 31<sup>b</sup>

together with their districts. The cause thereof was that the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza son of Suleymán son of Ḥamza son of 'Aliyy son of Ḥamza went down to the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, who received him with honour and kindness, giving him the Mikhlaf<sup>291</sup> as a fief, so that he went up to his country rejoiced. But the lust of the flesh within him suggested to him to seize the fortress of Kewkebán.<sup>292</sup> So he dealt deceitfully in the matter; partizans of his entered the fortress, and there wanted but little for him to take it. But there was a fair garrison in the place, of horse and foot. And it was their practice in Kewkebán that they should for ever leave, without ceasing, ten horsemen in full panoply and fifty footmen under arms. So when the partizans of the Sheríf went up to the fortress, the garrison, horsemen, as well as what footmen were with them, sallied forth against them and slew of them a goodly number. But the greater part cast themselves helter-skelter down the declivity.

Now the 'Emír Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza had built the fort of Menábír;<sup>293</sup> and it was in the territory of the Sultan adjoining the lowlands and overlooking Maḥálíb<sup>294</sup> and Mehjem.<sup>295</sup> So when the Sultan was informed of what the Sheríf had done, as also his son Muḥammed (son of Yaḥyá) son of Ḥamza, he was wroth thereat, with great indignation.

There was with the Sultan at that time the 'Emír Muḥammed son of Ḥátim the 'Abbáside, lord of the castle of 'Azzán<sup>296</sup> of the Maṣānī.<sup>297</sup> He was much respected and honoured by the Sultan. And when he perceived the preoccupation of the Sultan for gaining possession of the fort of Menábír, he said to the Sultan: "I will give thee the castle of 'Azzán, and I know that the Sheríf Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza desires to possess it, and would deliver up Menábír." Then the Sultan replied: "And I will add ten thousand ducats."

So the Sultan sent his wezír, who was the Sheykh Náji son of 'Es'ad, to the Sheríf Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza, and made him that offer, which he did not accept. He made the remark:

"I have already become joint owner of Mehjem with you." So the wezír returned without arranging anything. Upon this the anger of the Sultan was increased, and he wrote to the 'Emir Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám Manşúr 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza, quoting the proverbial distich of the poet of old <sup>298</sup> :

*"When there is naught else to ride upon save the iron heads of spears, there is no choice for him who is constrained, save to ride thereon."*

Now the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám was vexed in mind at his paternal uncle the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza for his infringement of the engagements and violation of the peace that had been undertaken at Dhemermer ; but it was not in his power to quit his paternal uncle.

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f. 32<sup>b</sup>

So the Sultan went forth from the city of Zebíd, and there advanced to meet him the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Ebú Zekerá ; there also met him the Sheykhs, sons of Baṭín, and others. Then the Sultán enrolled troops and expended treasures, sacrificing riches. And the money-bags were poured out in his presence with an effusion similar to the emptying out of sacks of corn. Then he journeyed towards Ḥajja and Mikhláfa with sixty thousand footmen, and overran both Ḥajja and Mikhláfa in a single day, by a fortunate chance that had never occurred to anyone before him, and has never happened since. The result of these actions upon Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza was the capture of the fort of Menábír and of some castles, the whole of which had but little value.

The Sultan Núru'd-Dín subsequently captured the whole of that part of the upper country that he had recognized as theirs by the treaty. And these are : Bewn,<sup>299</sup> 'Esnád, Ḥasb, Ḥárid, and Maṭira.<sup>300</sup>

And when the Sultan returned from his expedition, successful and victorious, there came to him the 'Emír Ja'fer son of 'Ebú Háshim, and the Sheykh Ḥusámu'd-Dín Ḥátim son of 'Aliyy the Jenedite, on the part of the Sherífs, who made peace with

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him against the countries he had already conquered, without any contesting his right to them. So he returned to the low country.

The Sultan Núru'd-Dín, on starting for his expedition against Ḥajja and Mikhláfa, had commanded the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan to set out to prevent the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza, if he should attempt to assist his paternal uncle. So the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín set out and pitched in Jenáb.<sup>301</sup> And the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín was in Ṭarf.<sup>302</sup> So there was fought the battle of Qárin,<sup>303</sup> which is one of those great days that have become celebrated.

And when the Sultan Núru'd-Dín had returned from his campaign to Mikhláfa, the learned Jemálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥimyer sang :

f. 33<sup>a</sup> " *Thou wast congratulated with victory when thou camest in an uproar, shaded over with Rudeyniyya<sup>304</sup> and other spear-shafts ;*  
*And with welcome, although the bright stars Arcturus and Spica Virginis were hidden, and Orion was not hidden.*  
*Thou raidedst Mubyin<sup>305</sup> when its faucial bags protruded,*  
*and when in Ruteyniyy<sup>306</sup> there were tangled masses of Arabians.*  
*But to-day in Qilháh<sup>307</sup> there brays not a male camel ; and the wolf, if the sheep butt him, springs not."*

But it is a long poem.

After that, verily the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín Yahyá son of Ḥamza and his children acknowledged their mistake and offered their excuses to our lord the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, who restored to them Ḥajja and Mikhláfa, with their castles ; such being the habits of princes, who take possession by force and restore in forgiveness.

And in the year A.H. 635 (A.D. 1237-8) the Sultan set out in person in the intention of going to Mekka the Honoured with

a thousand horsemen. And he made a general promise for every military man who should come over to him of the Egyptians resident in Mekka of a thousand ducats, a charger, and a dress. So many of the military inclined to him. He then gave orders to the Sheríf Rájih son of Qatáda, who, in consequence, met him on the road ; upon whom he conferred the kettledrums<sup>308</sup> and the big-drums, and from among whose followers he took into his service 300 horsemen. And he accompanied him in his march by the sea-coast. Then he advanced towards Mekka.

So when the 'Emír Gabriel ascertained the arrival of Melik Manšúr in person, and his spies brought him intelligence of the truth of this, while the Sheríf Rájih had approached near to him, he burnt all that was in his possession of the stores, of the upholstery, and of the baggage, so setting out towards the territories of Egypt. The Sultan was then at Sirreyn, and knew not of these events until there reached him a courier from the Sheríf, who said : " Good news, O thou whom the 'Emír Gabriel and his associates may not defeat." The Sultan said unto him : " From whence art thou ? " He answered : " From Mekka." Said he : " And when didst thou set out ? " And he said : " Yesterday afternoon." The Sultan thought this unlikely, and therefore said : " What is the token thereof ? " Then he said : " This letter from the Sheríf Rájih." And the Sultan marvelled exceedingly at his journey, and ordered the 'Emírs and slave-guards to cast upon the courier of glad tidings whatever they had upon them. So they cast upon him thereof what weighed him down.<sup>309</sup> Then the Sultan journeyed immediately to Mekka and entered it as on the lesser pilgrimage<sup>310</sup> in Rejeb, 635 (February, 1238).

The author of the 'Iqd has said :

" One in whom I place confidence has informed me that our lord the Sultan Núru'd-Dín entered Mekka on the lesser pilgrimage in the course of eight different years, every occasion being at a season other than the days of the great pilgrimage."

Now when the 'Emír Gabriel reached Medína, the city of

44

f. 33<sup>b</sup>

the Apostle,<sup>311</sup> on whom be the salutation of God and His greeting, news reached him of the death of the Sultan Melik Kámil Muḥammed son of 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Eyyúb,<sup>312</sup> lord of the Egyptian territories. So he felt a regret with all the troops that were with him that they had not gone over to the side of Melik Maṣṣúr. The 'Emír Gabriel was the bravest of the 'Emírs of Egypt.

And when the Sultan Núru'd-Dín entered Mekka he distributed to the troops and expended in alms large sums of money. And he placed as a garrison in Mekka 150 horsemen, over whom he set 'Ibnu't-Welǧdiyy and 'Ibnu't-Taǧziyy, who therefore abode in Mekka. And on this event the erudite Jemálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥimyer has sung, on whom be God's mercy :

*"The neighbours of Nejd<sup>313</sup> had not suffered loss by being far away, if they had met, instead of me, with what I have encountered ;*

*And whoever declared my blood lawfully shedable by the people of the double rancours, no bloodwit is suable from them for it, nor the lex talionis applicable."*

And thereon he has also sung :

*"Say thou to the sleek she-camels : 'Haste ye, and amble ye, and enter ye, like noble she-camels, on to the barren waste on which I enter :*

f. 34<sup>a</sup> *Relate ye the tale about Maṣṣúr, about what his levies did, and about the people who were envious.'*

*I met them with cohorts beyond numbering, they likewise being cohorts without number.*

*Then fear made their hands tremble, and their feet, until the sky seemed to them other than they were used to.*

*They turned their backs ; for he who met them was a lion,—this lion was used to dominate in a waste.*

*Who will blame an 'Emír who flees from a Prince ? That is not as is this, and the little finger is not like the upper arm."*

And in the year A.H. 636 (A.D. 1238-9) the Sultan Núru'd-Dín returned from Mekka to Yemen. 'Ibnu'l-Wēlǧdiyy and 'Ibnu't-Ta'izziyy remained at Mekka, as we have mentioned, until the said year came to an end. But God knows best.

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f. 34<sup>b</sup>

And in the year A.H. 637 (A.D. 1239-40) the 'Emír Sinja, lord of Medína, came to Mekka the Honoured with a thousand horsemen. So the troops of Sultan Núru'd-Dín went forth from Mekka, evacuating it for him.<sup>314</sup>

And in this same year the Sultan Núru'd-Dín received possession of the castle of Kemím<sup>315</sup>; and he went up to Šan'á' a second time, where there came to him the tidings of the violent death of the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Ebú Zekerá, and also news of the discomfiture of the troops at Mekka.

The author of the "String of Pearls of Great Price"<sup>316</sup> has said: "On one whom I rely, and an eye-witness of the circumstance, told me, 'I never saw anyone firmer of heart or more composed in countenance than the Sultan Núru'd-Dín when there came before him the two discomfited, defeated bodies of soldiery. He neither hurried nor delayed in informing himself of their rout, and in re-adjusting their equipment with horses, arms, clothing, and gifts of money, until he had restored them to a better condition than they were in before, and more complete in outer integuments.'"

f. 35<sup>a</sup>

Then the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, on whom be God's mercy, despatched 'Ibnu'l-Bašriyy and the Sheríf Rájih to Mekka with an imposing array. So when the Sherif Sinja and his associates heard of them, they went forth from Mekka in flight, Sinja going on to Egypt, the Sultan of which at that time was Melik Šáliḥ Nejmu'd-Dín 'Eyyúb son of Melik Kámil.<sup>317</sup> He equipped with him a force of soldiery, among whom were 'Alemu'd-Dín the Greater and 'Alemu'd-Dín the Less.

AD

And in the year A.H. 638 (A.D. 1240-1) this Egyptian force reached Mekka the Honoured, which they took possession of, and where they performed the pilgrimage with the people.

And in this year there expired the righteous jurist 'Ebú

f. 35<sup>b</sup>



‘Abdi’lláh the Me’ribite, of whom it is related that he performed his worship of the Friday in Dhú Jibla,<sup>318</sup> after which he went forth from the congregational mosque to go home, his house being in Dhú Bujdán,<sup>319</sup> localities held in mortmain by the said mosque. So when he was on his way, there met him a man riding on a handsome she-mule, and with him a number of slave attendants. He took him to be the wezír, or a judge, or one of the grandees in the service of the state. The Sultan Núru’d-Dín was at that time in the castle of ‘Úmán.<sup>320</sup> So the jurist asked him about the rider on the mule at the time when he met him, and it was told to him : “ This is a physician, a Jew, who serves the Sultan in that capacity.” On this the jurist darted at him, pulled him off the mule on which he was, threw him down on the ground, took off his shoe, and struck him therewith a severe and painful blow, saying to him : “ O thou foe of God and foe of His apostle,<sup>321</sup> verily thou hast overstepped thy due manner and hast transgressed that which the law of God has made incumbent ; therefore it is necessary to humiliate thee.” He then left him, having taken it well out of him. So the Jew got up, and went back to the gate of the Sultan begging for succour ; and his turban had been torn. Then it was said to him : “ Who is thy adversary ? ” And he said : “ The jurist Muḥammed the Me’ribite.” So our lord the Sultan Núru’d-Dín, on whom be God’s mercy, sent a messenger to enquire into the adventure. And when the messenger was come, the jurist said to him : “ Present thou my greeting to our lord the Sultan, and cause thou him to know that it is not lawful for him to let the Jews ride mules with riding-saddles, and that it is not lawful for them to set themselves up as chief men over Muslims ; whenever they do so, they have forsworn their right to the amnesty of ‘Islám over them.” Then the messenger returned with this answer to the Sultan from the jurist, as the reason. And when the Sultan heard that, he said to the Jew : “ Go thou with the messenger to the jurist, that he may let thee know that which is incumbent on thee by the divine law, so that thou mayest do it.” He then said to the messenger : “ Say thou to

the jurist, 'The Sultan greets thee; and it is incumbent that thou cause this Jew to know what is incumbent on him by the divine law, and that when he transgresses this he becomes clear of the amnesty.' And the jurist said to him: "So-and-so is incumbent on thee; and do thou not any act save that which is so-and-so; and when thou transgressest, chastisement becomes incumbent towards thee, thy blood becoming lawfully shedable." Then the Jew departed, and the messenger returned to the Sultan, informing him of what had been done in the matter. So he said to him: "See thou to thyself; if thou transgress that which the jurist has ordained unto thee, thou wilt be killed, and no one can advantage thee; for this, verily, is the ordinance of God and the divine law of His apostle, on whom be God's salutation and greeting." Then the Jew went away to his home. The jurist, too, ceased not to teach in the above-mentioned mosque until he died on the 8th Ramaḍán, 638 (about March, 1241). f. 36<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 639 (A.D. 1241-2) the Sultan Núru'd-Dín made himself master of the forts of Yumeyn<sup>322</sup> and the Shewáhid.<sup>323</sup> He also put to death 'Ammár son of the Shey-bánite.<sup>324</sup> Now 'Ammár was loyal, but trusted in his castles. And the erudite Muḥammed son of Ḥimyer, the renowned poet, went on a mission to him, and remained at the gate of his mansion a considerable portion of the day; but he did not permit him to enter. So he wrote unto him on a slip of paper, in which he sang: M

*"O gate that thou art, may God set thee to rights! A man of eloquence, whom travel, fatigue, and sleeplessness have jaded,*

*Has arrived in the land of Khawlán,<sup>325</sup> and has found it like the tragacanth bush, having neither a shade nor fruit."*

And when he became aware of his slip of paper, he engrossed on its back a writing, that said:

*"Nay, but rather like the rain-cloud, in which is both shade and fruit,"*

He then gave him leave to enter, showed him honour and kindness, so that he stayed with him several days. He then departed from him, when there met him a band of the slaves of 'Ammár, who despoiled him, taking whatever he had. He felt suspicious of 'Ammár, and the thought arose in his mind that it was he who had commanded them to do so. He then presented himself before the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, and recited before him at a drinking-party :

*" Pillions and saddles have not rejoiced my heart ; nor have mile-stones and footmarks made me sad.*

*I do not ask the people of Nejd to go to Nejd, nor do I beg the inhabitants of low-lying districts to go to a hollow.*

*The wolf howls when a lion is not in his vicinity, and the onager neighs when he meets not the hunter.*

*I was pleased with Yemen the verdant when it became beaming for the son of Resûl ; and thence is there no sadness.*

*And in it calamities were remedies, and not one individual remained of the sons of the untrimmed woman.*

*But there was left one single excrescence with which it could be reproached ; and fire is easy to be ridden, not shame.*

*And if I have said, ' There is left no Sultan save 'Umer,' they have said, ' Nay, for there remains the Sultan 'Ammár.'*

*Or if I have said, ' There is no castle save the castle of Dumluwa,'<sup>326</sup> they have replied, ' Birásh, Yumeyn, are the castle and the mansion.'*

*Or did I say, ' How excellent is the tithe of Juwwa !' <sup>327</sup> they retorted, ' And is there no tithe to Dhuhbán ?' <sup>328</sup>*

*Then accept an oath, and receive not an attempt at a futile excuse ; for the dog, when alone with a bone, is a tyrant.*

*Two Sultans in one country have never been in agreement ; for, can one keen sword enter the sheath with another trenchant steel ?*

*I had scarcely disappeared when he cast his eye on Dumluwa, and began to recite poetry, the goblets going round.*

*And 'Ibnul-Mahalliy<sup>329</sup> is his little right hand<sup>330</sup> in a fight ; the two are allies ; each to each, as a big drum and a fife.*

*O my lord, account him not as mean ; for 'Ibnu Muljem<sup>331</sup> became the assailant of a Ḥayder<sup>332</sup> ; and a traitor is a traitor.*

*Evil is the tent under the rug of which is a dwarf woman ; and the dam is the worst place of ambush when undermined by rats."*

And in this year A.H. 639 (A.D. 1241-2) Sultan Núru'd-Dín sent a numerous force to Mekka the Honoured with the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of Qatáda.<sup>333</sup> And when the troops that were in Mekka of the Egyptians knew of it, they wrote to the lord of Egypt asking him for reinforcements. So he sent unto them the 'Emír Mubárizu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Ḥuseyn son of Bertás, with 'Ibnu'l-Turkumániyy and 150 horsemen.

f. 37<sup>b</sup>

And when the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of Qatáda became aware of this and of their arrival, he remained at Sirreyn, and sent to Sultan Núru'd-Dín, informing him of the aspect of affairs. So the Sultan Núru'd-Dín made himself ready and set out in person for Mekka with a mighty host and a well-stocked treasury, as also a firm resolve. Then, when the men of Egypt got intelligence of his advance, they turned their backs in flight, laying in ruins the Government House in Mekka, together with all it contained, furniture and arms.

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And the Sultan Núru'd-Dín entered Mekka, observing there the rite of the fast in the month of Ramaḍán<sup>334</sup> of the said year 639 (May, 1240). Then the 'Emír Mubárizu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Ḥuseyn, with a number of his paternal cousins and comrades, came and joined, offering to take service with the Sultan. So the Sultan distributed largesse to the whole of them, with dresses of honour.<sup>335</sup>

Then the Sultan Núru'd-Dín sent to the Sheríf, lord of Yenbu', and when he came to him, received him with honour, made him gifts, took him into his service, bought the fortress of Yenbu', and gave orders for its demolition, so that there should exist no stronghold for the Egyptians.<sup>336</sup> The Sultan Núru'd-Dín then abolished in Mekka all customs dues, all land

taxes, and all illegal vexations. He wrote out a broadsheet to this effect, which was placed in front of the Black Stone.<sup>337</sup> He also stationed in garrison in Mekka proper the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín the Flayer, and 'Ibnu Firúz, placing the Sherif 'Ebú Sa'd over the valley.<sup>338</sup>

11<sup>r</sup> And in the year A.H. 640 (A.D. 1242-3) the Sultan Núru'd-Dín set out from Mekka to Yemen. In it also there died the Khalífa Mustanşir, and after him there succeeded to the Khiláfet his son the Khalífa Musta'sim bi-'lláh 'Ebú 'Aḥmed, 'Emír of the Believers<sup>339</sup> He it is for whom prayer is made on every  
f. 38<sup>a</sup> pulpit until this our present time, the year A.H. 798 (A.D. 1395-6).<sup>340</sup>

In the same year A.H. 640 (A.D. 1243) the caravan of pilgrims from 'Iráq arrived at Mekka, the arrival of that caravan at Mekka having been interrupted for seven years,<sup>341</sup> in which no one went on the pilgrimage from 'Iráq, from the year A.H. 632 to the year A.H. 640. And when the 'Emír of the pilgrim caravan of 'Iráq arrived at Mekka, he curtained the Cubical House,<sup>342</sup> placed gold and silver on that House, and distributed alms largely in Mekka.  
(f. 38<sup>b</sup>)

f. 39<sup>a</sup> In the year A.H. 641 (A.D. 1243-4) the Sultan Núru'd-Dín took possession of Mount Ḥufásh,<sup>343</sup> one of the most famous strongholds of Yemen in the times of paganism and in the days of 'Islám.

f. 39<sup>b</sup> And in the year A.H. 642 (A.D. 1244-5) Sultan Núru'd-Dín possessed himself of the castle of Sumát<sup>344</sup> in the land of Khawlán; on the subject of which Táj son of the Perfumer (Ibnu'l-'Attár), the Egyptian, sings, who was poet laureate to Melik Manşúr, on whom be God's mercy :

*"The sky of the lower world is not far off for the Son of 'Aliyy ;  
how then should the land of Semáwa<sup>345</sup> be so ?*

*A prince whose day is devoted to evident victory over enemies,  
and his night dedicated to recitation from the Qur'an !"*

He also acquired dominion over the land of 'Ulwán<sup>346</sup> the

Jaḥderite, whom he drove out into the country of the northern Khawlán. And he possessed himself of the whole of Upper and Lower Yemen, with the exception of Dhemermer, Beyt Redm,<sup>347</sup> Thulá, Telmuṣ,<sup>348</sup> Dhafár,<sup>349</sup> Kehlán<sup>350</sup> son of Táju'd-Dín, and Ṭawíla.<sup>351</sup> 91<sup>r</sup> (f. 40<sup>a</sup>)

And in the year A.H. 645 (A.D. 1247-8) Sultan Núru'd-Dín overran the country of the 'Awádir,<sup>352</sup> capturing their castles. Then there reached his ears intelligence of certain matters not to be approved of and connected with the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, son of his brother. So he summoned him to Juwwa, and he came to him. But when 'Esedu'd-Dín was in Juwwa, he conceived a mortal fear of his paternal uncle, and turned back in flight. When he had reached Saḥúl<sup>353</sup> he found that the order had been forwarded to the 'Emír Náji, lord of Saḥúl, to prevent 'Esedu'd-Dín from going up the torrent-bed. So Náji looked down upon him from the vaulted roof of his house, and said to him: "Return thou to thy paternal uncle; for there is no road to the torrent-bed open to thee." f. 40<sup>b</sup> f. 41<sup>a</sup>

Now the said Náji was one of those sincerely devoted to the sovereignty of Melik Manšúr. So the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín was bewildered and knew not what to do, fearing severity from his paternal uncle. But the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín used to associate with Werd son of Náji. So he sent for him and informed him of the difficulty in which he was placed, and that he was afraid of his paternal uncle. Then Werd son of Náji threaded with him a path through the wilderness, arriving with him at Dhemár by way of Waṣáb, his entry into Dhemár being on the first day of the year A.H. 646 (26th April, 1248, O.S.). 91<sup>r</sup>

And in the year A.H. 646 the 'Imám Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn the Qásimite rose in arms, having been made to rise by the sect of the Zeydiyya.<sup>354</sup> His rising took place at Thulá in the middle of the month of Ṣafer in that year (about 10th June, 1248).<sup>1</sup> And he disseminated the call to arms in every direction, many people responding to his call in the district of Yemen. So he gave orders for a camp to be pitched against the castles of the Mikhláfa,<sup>355</sup> the governor of which at that time was the f. 41<sup>b</sup>

Judge Shihábu'd-Dín 'Ammára son of 'Aliyy the 'Isbahánite, on the part of the Sultan Núru'd-Dín. The castles of the Mikhláfa were then in the hands of the Sherífs, children of Yahyá son of Ḥamza.

So when the 'Imám Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn rose in arms, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín wrote to him as to his assistance, and as to his rising with him. And he agreed with him thereon. Then he raised sedition against his paternal uncle. Thus the case required that the Sultan Núru'd-Dín should go up to do battle with the two and combat them. Now he used not to think war a fatigue; so he got ready and went up to Ṣan'á', but the son of his brother, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, met him at Dhemár, asking for his good graces and offering excuses; he was gratified, and  
 10 marched in his suite to Ṣan'á', which he entered the 21st of the first month of Reb' in the said year 646 (about 15th July, 1245), remaining there until Sunday, of the month Jumádá the First, when he went forth from Ṣan'á' and pitched beneath the fortress of Kewkebán in a spot called "Gently a bit."<sup>356</sup> He next went up the hill and pitched in Ruḥám (Rukhám) as far as Khawshán,<sup>357</sup> distributing reinforcements and reliefs to the castles of Mikhláfa. But there interposed to prevent this a great body of the people of the Ma'ázib.<sup>358</sup> He therefore went back from Ruḥám to Khawshán.

The 'Imám was then in Thulá, and the battle took place in the passes below the fortress of Thulá. But on some days there was fighting below a certain castle, one of those on Mount Maṣání'.<sup>359</sup> So there happened between them several great battles; one in particular famous by the name of the "Day of the Passes," in which there were slain, of the soldiery of the 'Imám, ninety men by arrows. The commander in this battle was Mubárizu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Ḥuseyn son of Bertás. Afterwards, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín commanded in chief in the battles, the Sultan having his camp at Khawshán.

The 'Imám now detached a force to the country of the Benú Shiháb,<sup>360</sup> its commander being the 'Emír 'Abdu'lláh son of  
 11 Ḥasan son of Ḥamza, who camped in Ḥadda and Sibá'.<sup>361</sup> The

Benú Shiháb, Benú'r-Rá'í,<sup>362</sup> and the people of Ḥaḍúr<sup>363</sup> put themselves in opposition, siding with him. So the Sultan Núru'd-Dín moved to the country of the Benú'r-Rá'í, who had built in Mount Ḥaḍúr a place called Ḥajaru'l-Jerád.<sup>364</sup> This he demolished, and he placed in Mount Ḥaḍúr a force of foot as a garrison. A portion of the Benú'r-Rá'í came over to his side. This was in Sha'bán of the afore-mentioned year A.H. 646 (November, 1248).

He next marched in the direction of the Benú Shiháb and destroyed their sown crops. Many battles occurred there, and the Sultan returned to Ṣan'á', which he entered on Friday, 2nd Ramaḍán of the same year, 646 (27th December, 1248). The Sultan then equipped the son of his brother, 'Esedu'd-Dín, to the country of the Hedhhdhád<sup>365</sup> on the 27th Ramaḍán (21st January, 1249). He mastered the fortified post of the Benú Khawwál,<sup>366</sup> whom he slew in Shewwál (February), slaying also the people of 'Allána<sup>367</sup> in Dhú'l-Qa'da (March), and devastated Sitára<sup>368</sup> towards the close of that month. The Maṣṣurian forces also sallied forth from Ṣan'á' to 'Atmán<sup>369</sup> in the same month, and slew a number of its inhabitants.

The 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín returned to Ṣan'á', where he abode a certain time; and the Sultan Núru'd-Dín left Ṣan'á' for the country of the Benú Shiháb on the 29th of Dhú'l-Hijja (14th April, 1249). He pitched in the meadow-land of 'Izzá Ṣan'á',<sup>370</sup> and gave orders to his soldiery, who ravaged the sown crops of Ḥadda and Sibá', where he fought a hard battle.

And in this year aforesaid, A.H. 646 (A.D. 1248-9), Sultan Núru'd-Dín dismissed from Mekka and its dependencies the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín the Flayer, appointing as governor in his stead 'Ibnu'l-Musebbab, upon his undertaking a certain revenue which he was to pay from Hijáz after maintaining the troops, and on condition that he should send a hundred horses every year. So he set out for Mekka with letters-patent from the Sultan, entering it when the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín the Flayer went forth. And 'Ibnu'l-Musebbab remained governor in Mekka during the year 646 and that which followed. And he undid

1v

f. 42b



in that space of time all the good which the Sultan Núru'd-Dín had established, bringing in again the land-taxes and customs-dues, tearing down the broadsheet of the Sultan written and posted over the Zemzem<sup>371</sup> (well), taking possession also of the alms that used to come from Yemen. He furthermore took from Mejd son of 'Ebu'l-Qásim the money that was in his charge belonging to our lord the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer and  
 98 built a fort in Nakhla<sup>372</sup> which is named 'Aṭshán.<sup>373</sup> He also made Hudheyl<sup>374</sup> take an oath of fealty to himself, and held back from the troops their pay, so that they dispersed from him. He devised cunning, and God dealt accordingly with him.

Then when the Sherif 'Ebu' Sa'd had ascertained his disobedience against the Sultan, he assailed him, took from him all he had, horses, stores, and slaves, put him in chains, and convoking the chief men of the Sacred Precincts,<sup>375</sup> said: "I have not seized him, save that I had ascertained his rebellion against our lord the Sultan, and had become aware that he had the design to abscond with the treasure he had collected to 'Iráq; whereas I am the slave of our lord the Sultan, and the treasure is in safety with me, as also the horses and stores, until there shall reach me the command of the Sultan with regard thereto." But in a very short time afterwards tidings arrived of the Sultan's decease.

f. 43<sup>b</sup> And in the year A.H. 647 (A.D. 1249-50) the Sultan Núru'd-Dín moved from his camp in the meadows to the district of Şudá',<sup>376</sup> where he devastated the sown crops, and proceeded to Beyt Na'áma, where were assembled the Sherifs, with their troops, the Benú Shiháb, the Benú'r-Rá'í, and the men of Ḥaḍúr, in the village of Dá'ir, where the Sultan attacked them, killed a number of them, and destroyed the village; this occurring in Muḥarrem of the said year A.H. 647 (April-May, 1249).

99 And when the 17th day of the said Muḥarrem was come, the forces of the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Huseyn went up to the fortress of Kewkebán in a moment of unpreparedness on the part of its inhabitants. And when they had established themselves on its summit, the garrison in station sallied forth against them,

and put them to a great slaughter. Now the 'Imám had ridden in the early morning on that day to Kewkebán, and stopped below the fortress. But when his forces were slaughtered, he went back to the fort of Thulá in all haste. Our lord the Sultan Núru'd-Dín returned also to Şan'á', where he remained until the 12th Şafer (27th May, O.S.). There came to him the 'Emír 'Aḥmed son of Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza, whom he went forth to meet, to whom he showed honour, with whom he re-entered Şan'á', and on whom he conferred as a grace the castle of Tekrím.<sup>377</sup> f. 44<sup>a</sup>

After this the Sultan proceeded in the direction of Yemen, and pitched his camp in Qurretu'l-'Ayn on<sup>378</sup> Tuesday, the 3rd of Rebí' the First (18th June, O.S.). He then took his road against Ten'um,<sup>379</sup> to do battle with those who were therein. These were the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza, and the 'Emír 'Ebú Ḥáshim son of Şafiiyu'd-Dín. So the heaven-assisted troops did battle with them, and killed a number of their followers. 1<sup>o</sup>

The Sultan next proceeded to Jehrán,<sup>380</sup> the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl accompanying him a certain distance on his journey. Now there congregated together the men of Bekíl,<sup>381</sup> the men of Ghábeyn,<sup>382</sup> the men of Şubḥ,<sup>383</sup> the men of those parts, and the troops of the 'Imám, their captain being the Sheríf Diyá'. They were about ten thousand footmen and a hundred and fifty horse, and they had the design of preventing the Sultan from taking the direction of Bekíl, having their fixed centre in the high land of Núna.<sup>384</sup> But the Maṣṣúrian forces defeated them, killing many of them and devastating Ghábeyn as also Şubḥ. This happened in the month of the latter Rebí', 647 (July–August, 1249).

In that same month the two 'Emírs, Músá and Dáwúd, sons of 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza, arrived at Dhahr<sup>385</sup> with a force of horse and foot. And in Şan'á' as garrison was the Master of the Household of the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, named 'Izzu'd-Dín f. 44<sup>b</sup>

the Engineer. He did battle with the two Sherífs and expelled them from Dhahr. Then the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín returned to Şan'á' from Dhemár after the descent of Sultan Núru'd-Dín to Yemen. But the people of the districts and the forces of the 'Imám seized the pass of Ghá'ira,<sup>386</sup> and prevented him  
 1.1 from going up to Şan'á'. So he went up against them with the sword, by force, defeating them and thus getting up to Şan'á'.

He then went forth again after this to Kemím<sup>387</sup> to meet the treasuries, when all the Sheykhs of those districts drew together, with the forces of the 'Imám, and tried to take possession of the treasuries. They were about four thousand foot and a hundred and fifty horse. He engaged them and routed them utterly. Subsequently to that the districts rebelled against him, and his troops dispersed, both Kurdish (Ghuzz) and Arabian mercenaries, fleeing to the 'Imám. There thus remained none with him save his household slaves. But he cared not for any of these things, and no anxiety entered his mind. But the war between him and the Sherífs was a succession of alternate fortune, by reason of the small number of his troops and the bias of the population towards the 'Imám.

There then occurred the battle of Qárin<sup>388</sup> between the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Huseyn and the Benú Ḥamza.<sup>389</sup> A number of these latter were killed, others being made prisoners. It was a famous battle, fought on Wednesday, 14th Shewwál, 647 (about 20th January, 1250).

f. 45<sup>a</sup> And in that year was the Sultan Núru'd-Dín crowned with martyrdom in the castle of Jened during the night preceding Saturday, the 9th of Dhú'l-Qa'da (about 15th February, 1250, O.S.); may God's mercy be upon him. A party of his household slave troops fell upon him, and killed him!<sup>390</sup> He had greatly increased the number of his household slave troops, so  
 1.2 that his maritime slave troops amounted to a thousand horsemen, though it has been said eight hundred. And they used to excel in horsemanship and archery all that the slave troops of Egypt did so well. He had about him nearly the same

number of slave children, besides his bodyguard and the troops of the 'Emírs.

It was said that he who emboldened them to this deed, who was familiar with them, and who made them promises on which their minds relied, was the son of his brother, 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl. This arose inasmuch as he was feudal lord of Ṣan'á' on the part of his paternal uncle Maṣṣúr, who afterwards wished to remove him from thence and to give it to the son of Shemsu'd-Dín Yúsuf Mudhaffer.<sup>391</sup> This was looked upon as very serious by 'Esedu'd-Dín, who therefore practised on the slave troops to kill his uncle, which they carried out at the date given above. But 'Esedu'd-Dín, after the murder of his uncle, never once saw a happy day. God's decrees take their course in a contrary sense to men's calculations.

f. 45<sup>b</sup>

It is reported that when the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, on whom be God's mercy, returned from the war with the 'Imám and entered the city of Jened, there came to him an envoy from the King of India,<sup>392</sup> two or three days before his death. He presented himself at an audience of the Sultan, and acquitted himself of the message of his sender. So the Sultan received him with honour, and made gifts to him. Then, when he came forth, he said to his interpreter: "His end is become near; save that, verily, he is the father of a king, the grandfather of a king, and of his posterity there will be kings." He then spoke words in a non-Arabic idiom, the purport of which is: "There shall take it after him the lord of the mole; <sup>393</sup> and there shall meet it after him an exciter to war; <sup>394</sup> and it shall not be separated from his progeny and his children."

1. r\*

The Sultan Núru'd-Dín was a noble, prudent, clement prince, excellent in governing, quick of action on an emergency. He was high-minded, soaring in enterprise, a courageous horseman, persevering and warlike, never tired of battle. Of the many indications of this one is his expulsion of the Egyptian forces from Mekka the Honoured time after time. He was not satisfied with becoming independent in Yemen after being their lieutenant

in it, but he fought with them from Mekka, and drove them out of it and out of Hijáz. He also inclined to himself a number  
 1.2 \*\* of their military men, among those whom he so gained over, from amidst their 'Emírs, being the 'Emír Mubárizu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Huseyn son of Bertás, and the 'Emír Fírúz, whose posterity are the 'Emírs, the Benú Fírúz, lords of 'Ibb<sup>395</sup>; though Jenediyy has said: "It has been stated that the 'Emírs, the Benú Fírúz, managed 'Ibb from of olden time, i.e. from before the days of Melik Manşúr." But God knows best.

f. 46. And when the Sultan Núru'd-Dín was murdered in the city of Jened, there was not then present any one of his children. On the contrary, Melik Mudhaffer<sup>396</sup> was at Mehjem, while his brothers and their mother were at the castle of Ta'ízz, on  
 1.3 account of the outfitting of the Lady 'Ádhiba, daughter of the Sultan Melik Manşúr,<sup>397</sup> as bride to a Sheríf<sup>398</sup> of the people of Mekka. So he went with them to Dumluwa.

Then the Benú Fírúz<sup>399</sup> family collected and bore the Sultan in a camel-litter, going with him to Ta'ízz, where they buried him in the College of the 'Atá-Bek at Dhú Huzeym,<sup>400</sup> by reason that he had taken to wife a daughter of the 'Atá-Bek Sefer,<sup>401</sup> she being known as the Daughter of Hāwza.<sup>402</sup> Our lord the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, on whom be God's mercy, recognized this act of theirs, thanking them for what they had done, and for that reason conferring on them several valuable fiefs. He also gave to Sherefu'd-Dín a band of military music, and another to his brother Fakhru'd-Dín, both of whom were in great favour with him.

1.3 \* And the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, on whom be God's mercy, had founded many a pious institution. Among these works is the College which is at Mekka the Honoured, and is such that all princes envy him on account thereof. He built in the city of Ta'ízz two colleges, of which the one bears the name of Wezíriyya, from its professor Wezíriyy, and the other the name of Ghurábiyya, from its mu'edhdhin<sup>403</sup>; a certain pious man whose name was Ghuráb being mu'edhdhin therein. He also built a college at 'Aden; while in Zebíd he built three colleges,

together known as the Maṣūriyyat<sup>404</sup>; one of them the Shāfi'iyya college, another the Ḥanafiyya college, and the third the college of the apostolic traditions. He further built a college in the district of Mensikiyya<sup>405</sup> in the vale of Sihám. In each college he instituted a professor, a tutor, students,<sup>406</sup> an 'imám,<sup>407</sup> a mu'edhdhin, a teacher,<sup>408</sup> and orphans,<sup>409</sup> to learn the Qur'án, giving to each one also ample estates in mortmain to maintain them and supply the needs of all. Jenediyy says moreover: "He also built a mosque in every village of the lowlands, to which he assigned an ample estate in mortmain." f. 46<sup>b</sup>

Now the district called Núriyy<sup>410</sup> was an extensive waste lying between Ḥays and Zebíd, through which those who passed would perish. So he built therein a mosque, placing therein two imáms. And he made it a condition that whoever should settle there with them should be treated considerately in respect of his sown crops. So people settled there with them, until there had sprung up a nice village, from which the people derived a great benefit. Thus says 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan the Khazrejite: "And I imagine that it was named Núriyy after him; for he it was who enlivened that locality, his surname being Núru'd-Dín, as we have mentioned. But God knows best." 1r \*\*

He also built between those two cities many forts and other works, in which he placed garrisons of foot, and the traces of which exist there to this present time of ours. He furthermore issued his command for the establishment of a post on Birk, a mountain adjoining the sea between Mekka and Yemen; placing therein a strong force as garrison to wage war with the house of 'Eyyúb.

He moreover despatched the Sheykh Mu'aybid son of 'Abdu'lláh the 'Esh'arite, lord of Rima,<sup>411</sup> to the Sheykh Músá son of 'Aliyy the Kinánite, lord of the Ḥaly of the Son of Ya'qúb,<sup>412</sup> in order that he should set about making war against the house of 'Eyyúb. This Músá son of 'Aliyy the Kinánite was one of those who have become proverbial for their munificence and generosity. So when Sheykh Mu'aybid reached him with the message of Sultan Núru'd-Dín, he listened and obeyed, saying: "What is the thing that thou bearest unto me of the guestship

of this personage?" i.e. of Mu'aybid. So he led forth to him fifty horses; and Mu'aybid conducted the whole of them to Sultan Núru'd-Dín. And he spoke in praise of him in his presence, saying: "The possessor of this spirit merits that the name of 'Emír be conferred on him." So the title of 'Emírship was conferred on him from that time forth.

f. 47<sup>a</sup> And Sultan Núru'd-Dín had three male children, who were Mudhaffer, Mufaḍḍal, and Fá'iz; Mudhaffer being the eldest of them. He came into the world in the days of the governorship of his father in Mekka the Honoured in the year A.H. 619 (A.D. 1222), or, as is also said, A.H. 620 (A.D. 1223). It is he who succeeded to the sovereignty after his father. His father had put him at a distance and promoted his brothers over him, in compliance with their mother, the daughter of Ḥawza, who had obtained a predominating influence over him; so much so, that he had made the troops swear fealty to his son Mufaḍḍal, who was younger than Mudhaffer.<sup>413</sup>

14<sup>a</sup> And his poet-laureate<sup>414</sup> was Táj son of the Perfumer ('Aṭṭār), one of the erudite men of the people of Egypt; also the talented Muḥammed son of Ḥimyer, one of the learned among the people of Yemen. Now the two had met together one day at a drinking party, and the son of the Perfumer said to him: "O my lord, verily I am thy poet-laureate from the lands of Egypt; but I see that thou preferrest the son of Ḥimyer before me, and givest gifts to him more largely than to me." Then the Sultan said: "Verily he is ready-witted, quick at impromptu; while you, O men of Egypt, although people of learning and erudition, are yet indeed slow." He then turned to the son of Ḥimyer and said to him: "What sayest thou?" Upon this the son of Ḥimyer, addressing himself to the son of the Perfumer, spake as follows offhandedly:—

*"A would be poet, with a turban in knots, the which, if stirred up,  
I should take to the open air, crop-sick;*

*Yet thy father was a perfumer; what, then, is the object of his  
son that he should offer to men as incense the stench of  
armpits?"*

And it was said that he had somewhat of that odour. So Sultan Núru'd-Dín laughed and said : " Answer him." But vexation prevented his utterance.

One day he was present at a drinking party with Sultan Núru'd-Dín, whose brother's son, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín was also there at the time. The 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín had a poet, one of the people of the east country, named 'Aliyy son of 'Ahmed. Now 'Esedu'd-Dín set himself to eulogize his said poet. Then said Sultan Núru'd-Dín to the son of Himyer : " What sayest thou ?" And he answered impromptu :

*" I am the ocean, prodigal of all kinds of unusual things ; therein  
do I deck out Mañşúr with pearls and gems ;  
Why, then, should I heed 'Aliyy son of 'Ahmed, or his verse ?  
May the chin of the son of 'Ahmed be in musk !"*

Then said to him the Sultan Núru'd-Dín : " And what hath prevented thee from rhyming thy last word with a letter *r* ?" To which he answered : " Fear of this son of thy brother."

Now the son of Himyer was a very eloquent poet, facile of conception, beautiful in invention. He it was who spoke in eulogy of Sultan Núru'd-Dín, where he sings :

*" It has been said : ' That thou mayest grow rich, do thou dwell  
near the sea or a King.' Thou art the King, and thou art  
the sea, O 'Umer !  
Neither Arabian nor non-Arabian hath compassed what thou  
hast compassed, neither genie nor man hath strongly built  
up what thou hast strongly built up !  
When the ancestors are such that their sons glory in them, or if  
the ancestors boast of thee, thou mayest feel proud !  
Thou art both ; and in thee is the happiness of the whole. They  
make thee not glorious, whether they be absent or present.  
They are glorious through thy glory, at their beginning and at  
their last ; even as in 'Ahmed<sup>415</sup> does the whole of  
Muḍar<sup>416</sup> become glorious."*



He also has sung, eulogizing him in another poem :

f. 48<sup>a</sup> 1.1 “ Say thou to the rhymes : ‘ Rhyme ye to ‘Umer ; take heed that  
ye deceive not, for you will be deceived.  
Keep ye about the high place, that ye may be exalted ; and haunt  
ye not the low, that ye be not abased.  
Whosoever’s fire has become extinct, his fires will I also extinguish  
upon the deserted hearth.”

The Sultan Núru’d-Dín was of the Ḥanefiyy<sup>417</sup> school of orthodoxy, but later he went over to the school of Sháfi’iyy.<sup>418</sup>

Says Jenediyy in his history: “My teacher ‘Aḥmed son of ‘Aliyy the Ḥarázite informed me, basing himself upon what he had been taught by the ‘Imám ‘Ebú ‘Abdi’lláh Muḥammed son of ‘Ibráhím the ‘Aselite, the teacher of the apostolic traditions at Zebíd, and one of the instructors of Maṣṣúr,<sup>419</sup> saying: ‘The Sultan Núru’d-Dín Maṣṣúr informed me, in the very words, that he was of the Ḥanefiyy school of orthodoxy, but that he saw the Prophet, on whom be God’s salutation and greeting, in his dream,<sup>420</sup> who said to him: “O ‘Umer, thou hast passed over to the Sháfi’iyy school of orthodoxy”; or whatever he may have said. So he rose in the morning and began to examine Sháfi’iyy books, becoming confident in their way of reasoning.’”

He used to associate with the Sheykh,<sup>421</sup> and the jurist who were the two lords of ‘Awája, and who were among those who strengthened him in the sovereignty. He associated also with the jurist Muḥammed son of ‘Ibráhím, under whom he studied likewise. He was much attached to men of learning and to men of piety. His institutions and his deeds were praiseworthy. May the mercy of God be upon him.

## CHAPTER III.

10v

*On the events of the Mudhafferiyy Sovereignty<sup>423</sup> and its Conquests.*

Thus saith 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan the Khazrejite : When our lord the Sultan Melik Maṣṣūr Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl died at the date above specified (Saturday, 9th Dhú'l-Qa'da, 647 ; about 15th February, 1250, O.S.), the whole of the household slave troops<sup>423</sup> (Memlúk, pl. Memálík ; whence our 'Mamelukes') took their way to the capital city, Zebíd, and next from thence to Feshál,<sup>424</sup> where was the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr<sup>425</sup> son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, as its feudal lord on the part of his paternal uncle, the martyred Sultan Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl. Him did they entitle Melik Mu'adhdam, and to him did they swear fealty, then taking the road to Zebíd. Therein was then dwelling the Lady of the Exalted Curtain, Dáru'sh-Shemsiyy,<sup>426</sup> daughter of our lord the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, with his mother, and the eunuch Táju'd-Dín Bedr, surnamed the Less, who was incarcerated in the prison of Zebíd. He had been placed in custody by the daughter of Ḥawza by reason of his love towards Melik Mudhaffer ; but Dáru'sh-Shemsiyy took him out of the prison and confided to him a large sum of money, with which he raised a body of men. She then commanded him to shut the gates of the city, to guard it, and to watch over its walls.

f. 48b

He therefore organized combatants on the banquette<sup>427</sup> (*derb*) of the ramparts, and fought against the slave troops and the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín, in spite of the 'Emír<sup>428</sup> of the city and of its Superintendent.<sup>429</sup> Its 'Emír at that time was a slave trooper, whose name was Qánimán, the Superintendent being a stranger known as Sheref. The Sultan Mudhaffer was then absent

10a

among his feudal estates at Mehjem. He was not in a state of composure towards his father, who had given precedence over him to his two brothers Mufaḍḍal and Fá'iz,<sup>430</sup> their mother being the daughter of Ḥawza. She had gained his affection so as to exercise undue influence over him; she had driven away his son the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, as also his daughter Dáru'sh-Shemsiyy, from their father, to such a point that he had made the soldiery take an oath of fealty to his son Mufaḍḍal.

f. 49<sup>a</sup> The Sultan Melik Mudhaffer had formed the design in that year to quit Yemen and make his way to the Khalífa Musta'ṣim in 'Iráq. But when news reached him of the death of his father, it was grievous to him and turned his resolution from quitting Yemen. He was in a state of bewilderment, inasmuch as he felt overpowered by what had overtaken him of great calamities and grave matters, such as the loss of his father, the defection of the entire body of the slave-guards to the son of his paternal uncle, Fakhru'd-Dín, their blockade of Zebíd, the domination of the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín over Ṣan'á and its dependencies, the 111 uprise of the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn in the upper country, the spread of his fame, his domination over the greater portion of that upper country and its forts, the domination of his own two brothers Mufaḍḍal and Fá'iz over the castles, the cities, and the treasuries, and that there was naught in his own grasp save the hilt of his sword, excepting that the hearts of the nation were filled with love for him.

Then he arose preparing for action, collected what troops were with him, enrolled both horsemen and footmen of the Arabians, and sallied forth from Mehjem at the bidding of the Sheykh 'Ebú'l-Ghayth son of Jemíl,<sup>431</sup> taking his road towards Zebíd in diligence and with luck, success, and happy augury. One of the *signs* <sup>432</sup> of his good fortune was that when he resolved on marching and gave orders to load his effects and his treasure, as they had begun to load, they brought out a chest filled with gold, which they set down and went back for another. Just then two men of the Arabians happened to pass by, who at once loaded that first chest on their beast. When the

treasurers came out with the other chest they missed the first, and not finding it they stood bewildered. News of this reached the Sultan. He summoned the Sheykh of the Arabians, and ordered them to follow up the footmarks. These, therefore, set out instantly to search out the footmarks; nor did they desist from tracking out the marks until they stood before the mark of the kneeling-place of the male camel on which the chest had been loaded. So they halted, looking about right and left; and they saw a spot the state of which was other than what surrounded it. There they dug, and there they found the chest, with not one of its seals broken. They loaded it on their beast and went back with it. This was one of the greatest signs of success and of good fortune.

11

The departure of the Sultan from Mehjem with his heaven-assisted troops<sup>433</sup> took place on the 28th Dhú'l-Qa'da,<sup>434</sup> 647 (about 7th March, 1250). The leaguer and investment of Zebíd was not discontinued until they knew that the Sultan was on his march towards that city; then they broke up their camp. And when the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer went forth from Mehjem towards Zebíd, whenever he passed through a clan of the Arabians, he engaged their horsemen and their footmen in his service. So there journeyed in his train, of the chieftains of the Arabians, 'Aliyy son of 'Imráh the Qarábilité, the Sheykh Muḥammed son of Zekerá the Hadebite, and the Sheykh 'Ahmed son of 'Ebú'l-Qásim, who was the Sheykh of Sheykh of the vale of Surdud.<sup>435</sup> There was also present the jurist Yahyá son of 'Amik, who was captain of the archers.<sup>436</sup> Sheykh Zekerá son of the Qarábilité went forth mounted on a mongrel camel; so that Sheykh 'Aliyy son of 'Ebú Bekr the Súdite who was the wezír of our lord the Sultan, said to him: "O Sheykh Zekerá, thou art one of the greatest in the array, and ridest thou on a mongrel camel?" And he replied: "By the truth of the head of our lord the Sultan, I will verily ride the she-mule of Fakhru'd-Dín if God grants her to our lord the Sultan." Said he, "God hath already granted her to him"; and he answered, "We shall see." Now the troops of our lord

f. 49<sup>b</sup>

111

the Sultan were one hundred and fifty horse, with two thousand footmen, while Fakhru'd-Dín had with him six hundred of the slave-guards and one thousand foot.

And while the Sultan was in the course of his journey there met him at Dhu'ál <sup>487</sup> one who said to him : " This is Fakhru'd-Dín with a large muster on the valley side." And he said also : " Forbid thou, then, the soldiery." Now the Sultan was riding a mettlesome charger, chestnut of coat ; and he took a spear-shaft in his hand, being a thorough horseman ; so he turned the head of his charger, and said : " O Arabians, where will ye fly to from us ? Is it that ye will not make our souls satisfied with yourselves ? " He then set to, calling out : " I am Yúsuf ! I am Yúsuf ! " Then he said : " Verily, I have thus seen thee with a force who vie with each other to outdo one another in advancing, even as the ocean vies in increasing its tide."

f. 50<sup>a</sup>

So when the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín and those of the slave-guards who were with him became informed of the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer's march towards them, they were convulsed with violent agitation, and Fakhru'd-Dín decided to ascend the mountain and make for Şan'á' with his brother. Then the chiefs and notables among the slave-guards, those who had had no complicity in the crime—and they were the greater number—  
117 assembled and wrote a letter to our lord the Sultan, in which they supplicated for an amnesty. So the Sultan granted them the amnesty on condition that they should lay hands on the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín and the party of those who had murdered the Sultan. They agreed to this, and they laid hands on the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín, as he was in his tent, they cutting several of the tent-ropes, so that they bound his arms behind his back therewith. Then they went all in a body to the Sultan, after seizing the party of those who had killed the Sultan.

Such is the account given by Jenediyy ; but the author of " The String of Pearls of Great Price " (the 'Iqd) says that the cause of his arrest was that Fakhru'd-Dín, when he learnt the march of the Sultan in his direction, wrote and sent a messenger to him, offering his submission and the surrender of the slave-

guards. But he answered: "Do ye not put together upon us the murder of our father and the seizure of the sovereignty out of our hands." So they conformed to his command and listened to his words, binding Fakhru'd-Dín and marching with him to the Sultan.

The author of "The String of Pearls" (the 'Iqd) has furthermore narrated, saying: "I have heard from our lord the Sultan, who said: 'The reason of the arrest of the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín by the slave-guards was that they had issued from their camp in quest of intelligence, when there overtook them a courier of the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín, who had with him letters from the 'Emír to us, containing something displeasing to them. So they returned to the camp, arrested him, and brought him to us under a guard.'"

11"

The 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yahyá the 'Ansite was outwardly on the side of the Sultan, but inwardly a partizan of the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín and his brother. Now he was a poet, eloquent, of noble disposition, and deriving his origin from 'Ans,<sup>438</sup> a clan of the tribe of Medh-hij. So the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín wrote to him urging him therein to rise in arms, and inciting him to loose the bonds of his brother Fakhru'd-Dín, saying therein :

f. 50<sup>b</sup>

*"Hadst thou known, O Muḥammed,<sup>439</sup> what has happened, thou wouldst verily have despatched thereto horsemen mounted on spare steeds with dishevelled forelocks ;*

*With whom thou wouldst have pelted the double banquette of Ta'izz in all haste, so that thou mightest obtain glory, or strengthen a source of fame.*

*There is no escape save that thou deliver thy brother in reality from thence, or that thou die and so have an excuse.*

*Verily, the son of Bertás<sup>440</sup> seized an opportunity ! Alas for a death sold and bought !*

*Shout, O progeny of Ḥaniza,<sup>441</sup> 'We come,' and acquire a most praiseworthy name, so that thou possess thyself from amongst the stars the brightest."*

Meaning the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn; but the more likely, in my estimation, is that he meant the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Imám Maṣṣúr 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza; for verily he was then chief of the house of the Benú Ḥamza. But God knows best.

11<sup>a</sup> So when the slave-guards came with the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín to the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, he amnestied them, and made himself personally very familiar with them. He then journeyed with the object of reaching the city of Zebíd, into which he made his entry on the 10th Dhú'l-Ḥijja, 647 (25th March, 1250), with an immense procession, bearing in his person the majesty of sovereignty and the grandeur of dominion.

And when he was seated at table, being established in the court of his kingdom, the poets arose with eulogies,<sup>442</sup> congratulating him on his accession to empire. The poets recited many verses; but the jurist Siráj 'Ebú Bekr son of Da'ás, from among all present, rose to felicitate the Sultan with what talent God granted to him as he sang:

*"If one horizon<sup>443</sup> has set with the state from the upper horizon, contemplate the splendour of the sun<sup>444</sup> that has already filled the plenum!*

*Or if, as it were, the eyelid of the kingdom had last evening become ophthalmic, this morning it has arisen perfectly dressed with the stibium of Mudhaffer.<sup>445</sup>*

f. 51<sup>a</sup> *The lower world moans not for the loss of its sovereign; it suffered a loss at Radwá,<sup>446</sup> and obtained a compensation by withering.*

*The loss of the King<sup>447</sup> was but a darkness that enveloped mankind; but there came to them a morn, and then they cheered up.*

*With the King<sup>448</sup> has the fracture become whole; and the neck of the upper heaven has become jeweled, which was vacant.*

*It is now a resplendent turn of fortune; and this is its owner; the time has become dawn through him, most bright and cheerful.*

*None other than thou, O 'Ebi' 'Umer,<sup>449</sup> is pleasing to it ; deck  
 thou it, then, as a jewel ; for brides are decked with jewels.  
 Thou hast not ceased to acknowledge the benefits of its Lord God,  
 in humble supplication for its advent, piously trusting.  
 Or thou hadst not seen it in Zebid inciting to joy and jaunting 110  
 in richly decorated apparel and jewels.  
 Thou hast endowed her with a bounteous dower ; and she has no  
 peer save thee, neither does she desire an exchange.  
 She has come to thee obediently ; and for her thou shookest not  
 a spear, nor baredst against her a blade.  
 Say thou to him who ignorantly desired to make himself a  
 sovereign,<sup>450</sup> and strove, losing his way in error :  
 'What art thou ? For the secret of the sovereignty is not patent  
 unto thee, and thou art not qualified for it :  
 Return thou, then, to the goblet of pleasure, and leave higher  
 matters to him who sheathes men's swords in the upper part  
 of necks ;<sup>451</sup>  
 And to the lord of the host, who barred the open country and  
 clipped with the edge of the sword the forelock of the  
 wilderness ;  
 And turned back thy wind when it blew transversely, thwart-  
 ingly, by a puff from him blowing from the north ;  
 The most deserving of mankind, of the sovereignty, was his  
 father, who never quitted for the first in the line of glorious  
 ancestry ;  
 It is my empire, and I am he who set my heart upon it ; and  
 God is He who grants to His servant that which he has  
 desired.' "*

So when the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer had seized the person  
 of the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín, and had entered the city of Zebid,  
 as we have related, and when his rule was established, then the  
 troops of his father gathered around him and undertook the  
 revenues of the low countries, his breast became dilated, and  
 his spirit was at ease. The sheykhs of the Arabians begged of  
 him permission to return to their homes. So he seated himself

f. 51<sup>b</sup>



111 to take leave of them in the Plain of Seyfu'l-'Islám,<sup>452</sup> and they came before him to take leave. Then he presented to the Sheykh Zekerá son of the Qarábilité a mule from among the beasts of the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín, named Durráj<sup>453</sup>; he gave also to the Sheykh 'Aliyy son of 'Imrán the Qarábilité the locality named Muqassiriyya,<sup>454</sup> while another called Li'sán<sup>455</sup> was set down to the Sheykh Muḥammed son of 'Ebú Zekerá. He gave them dresses of honour, gifts of money, and paid their wages handsomely; so that they went back to their homes happy and rejoicing.

In the year A.H. 648 (A.D. 1250-1) the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer took possession of the whole extent of the low country, its people submitting to him and bringing in to him its revenues.

Then he set out from the city of Zebíd for 'Aden, taking the road by the sea-coast.<sup>456</sup> He made himself master of it, of Lahj,<sup>457</sup> and of 'Ebyen<sup>458</sup> in the month of Šafer (May, 1250), receiving possession also of the castle of Yumeyn, the castle of Muníf,<sup>459</sup> and all the castles of the country of the Ma'áfir<sup>460</sup> tribes, in the same month. The first town of that country which he entered was Jeba',<sup>461</sup> where he was received by the judge Muḥammed son of 'Es'ad, surnamed Hebá', who publicly prayed for him from the pulpit there. So that was the first town of the hill country in which public prayer was made for him from the pulpit.

11v He next pitched against the fortress of Ta'izz in the first Rebí' of the year (June, 1250), his camp being in a locality at Dár-Sa'ída,<sup>462</sup> which is in Jubeyl, between Jáhidiyya and 'Asaq. He wrote to the Sheykh 'Ulwán son of Sa'id the Jaḥderite, demanding from him men of the Medh-ḥij<sup>463</sup> tribes. So he joined him with a numerous array, and he continued to invest the fortress until he took possession of it in the month of the first Jumádá, 648 (August, 1250), by a device on his part, f. 52<sup>a</sup> which was as follows. On a certain day he captured a courier who had come from Mufaḍḍal and his mother at Dumluwa to the 'Emír of the fortress and to its Superintendent. The 'Emír of the fortress at the time was 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bite; the

Superintendent being a certain seneschal<sup>464</sup> named 'Anber. And when he had captured the courier, he took what letters he had with him, broke them open, and ordered someone to counterfeit the handwriting until he imitated it exactly. He then wrote to the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bite, as though from the mouth of Mufaddal and his mother, that he should seize the Superintendent and imprison him. He wrote also to the Superintendent a similar letter. These papers of his were placed among those of the courier, to whom he gave what satisfied him, and also promised further reward. The courier then proceeded with the letters to the fortress. When the 'Emír and the Superintendent got their letters, and each one of them became aware of what was written to him, each of them became anxious for his colleague, the two being on friendly terms together. So they came together, and each communicated to the other what he had received. In consequence, they agreed that both should write at the same time to Mudhaffer and make sure of their lives at his hands. This they did, and delivered up to him the fortress in the month of the first Jumádá of that year, A.H. 648 (August, 1250). So he appointed the eunuch Superintendent to the daughter of 'Esedu'd-Dín, he being a eunuch with some good in him. The Sha'bite, too, rose greatly in his favour. For he afterwards gave him Şan'a' in 118  
fief, where he remained until he died.

But it is also related that the Sultan was occupied besieging the fortress something like six months. So when his stay became tedious, he wrote to his maternal aunt, the daughter of Hawza, asking her to deliver to him the fortress of Ta'izz, his own son 'Eshref, with his brother and their mother to be with her as hostages. And he sent them to her; so she wrote to the 'Emír to surrender the fortress to him, and from him he received it.

He next received possession of the castle of Habb in the month of Rejeb, 648 (October, 1250); on which event the erudite Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Himyer sings and says:—

"And although a King has retired, this is the reign of his son ;  
 and in Yúsuf<sup>465</sup> is there a good substitute for 'Umer ;  
 f. 52<sup>b</sup> There rushed upon it from the hollow of Melhá' Gháfiq<sup>466</sup> horses  
 with white-ringed fetlocks and manifest forehead-blazes.  
 And Zebíd emulously shouted : ' Welcome, O Mudhaffer ! The  
 assembly has become lighted up with thee ; and the station  
 has become cheerful ! '  
 And he journeyed to Habb, and Habb<sup>467</sup> loves him. And what  
 would be love that should be rebellious to him ? Even  
 though it should desire, it could not.  
 Castles have come to him ; they were his inheritance by the  
 divine law. Oh for the sword ! The sword is no one's  
 save his who subjugates." <sup>468</sup>

And in the course of this space of time the 'Imám 'Aḥmed  
 son of Ḥuseyn and the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Din 'Aḥmed son of the  
 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza made a pact together, and  
 111 marched against the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of  
 Ḥasan at Ṣan'á'. So he went out thence and ascended to  
 the castle of Birásh ; his departure from Ṣan'á' being on the  
 2nd of the first Jumádá in the year A.H. 648 (about 28th July,  
 1250), and the 'Imám entering it on the 7th of that month  
 (2nd August).

The whole of the Sherífs entered Ṣan'á' with him, the clans  
 of the Arabians submitting, so that he became master of the  
 city and of all its dependent districts, as also later of Dhemár  
 and its districts, of which the 'Emírs were Ḥumrites,<sup>469</sup> in whom  
 he placed no confidence either.

Says the author of the "String of Pearls of Great Price"  
 ('Iqd) : " The 'Imám remained in Ṣan'á' about a year, the 'Emír  
 'Esedu'd-Dín being in Birásh and attacking them at early morn  
 and late at eve. But the Arabians had gathered to the 'Imám  
 against him. So when the delay had become irksome to him  
 and his situation unbearable, he wrote to the 'Emír Shemsu'd-  
 Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám that he should pacify matters  
 between him and the 'Imám. The 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín

recommended him to apply to our lord the Sultan and court him assiduously, conforming himself according to his mandate."

Later on the two 'Emírs, 'Esedu'd-Dín and Shemsu'd-Dín, had an interview at Jebúb,<sup>470</sup> where they came to the understanding that the latter should endeavour to arrange a pacification between the former and the 'Imám, this last to equip the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín for a campaign in Yemen to fight against the son of his paternal uncle, the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer.

f. 53<sup>a</sup>  
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When the 'Emír arrived in the vicinity of the Sultan, a mediator arose seeking to bring about peace between the two parties; and this was arranged. Another mediator essayed to make peace between him and the 'Imám. So they came to terms accordingly, made a treaty, and ordered the matter.

The 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín now made preparation, the 'Emír 'Ahmed son of 'Ulwán and others of the sons of Hátim marching in his company. The 'Imám, too, despatched with him the 'Emír 'Abdu'lláh son of Suleymán son of Músá with a hundred horsemen. So the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín went forth with an immense array, and ceased not to journey until he pitched in the Shewáfi.<sup>471</sup>

So soon as the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer knew of this, he set out with his troops, and camped opposite to him. Then the sons of Hátim and others mediated for peace between them, and ultimately a pacification was arranged. The personal interview took place in Mewsá'a,<sup>472</sup> where the Sultan rode on his horse, Mushemmír,<sup>473</sup> advancing in the majesty of his kingdom, the throng of his guards, and the multitude of his troops. The 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín came forward walking on foot.<sup>474</sup> When he drew near, the Sultan dismounted, the two saluting each other on foot. The Sultan then remounted, and the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín walked on foot in front of him, carrying the horse-cloth<sup>475</sup> before him until he entered into the banqueting-tent. And when they reached the royal estrade, the Sultan said to the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín: "In God's name, O 'Emír!"<sup>476</sup> But he said: "May he avert evil from thee, O our Lord; that is thy place, and the place of thy father; while this is my place, and

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the place of my father." The matter was then settled according to the preliminaries of peace already made; and there was disbursed unto him, by way of unlimited largesse, what staggered him; so that he exclaimed: "Oh for my wits! Has our lord the Sultan left anything in his treasuries?"

f. 53<sup>b</sup> Next, the Sultan, on whom be God's mercy, equipped a reinforcement of one hundred horsemen for Şan'á', making Násif the Yaḥyite their captain. His command then came to the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín for his return to Şan'á'. So he set out in all speed with his troops and associates. And when tidings of this reached the 'Imám, he despatched his forces to the torrent bed of Ghá'ira, expecting that they would prevent the troops of the Sultan from ascending the torrent bed. But his forces did not stand in face of the Mudḥafferian troops for any length of time. And as soon as the 'Imám knew that the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín was at hand with the Mudḥafferian troops, he went forth from Şan'á' to Sibá', after having demolished the pavilion of the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín and the pavilion of his brother the 117 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín. He left the Seyyid Ḥasan son of Wehhás the Ḥamzite, his brother, and several other Sherífs besides those two, and some of the Arabians, as a garrison in Şafwa.<sup>477</sup> The 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín went out against them with the Sultan's troops, seized them by the napes of their necks, and sent them up to the castle of Birásh. The Sultan then went up to Şan'á' in the month of Dhú'l-Ḥijja in the year 648 (February-March, 1251), returning thence to Yemen in 649, on the first day of the first month of which he received possession of the fortress of Ta'ker.<sup>478</sup>

And in the latter part of that month tidings arrived of the approach from Egypt of the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, as of the approach of his brother Fakhru'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl.<sup>479</sup> This necessitated a pacification between the Sultan and the 'Imám; so they made peace together.

Our lord the Sultan now wrote to all the deputies in the low countries, commanding them to show respect to his two paternal

uncles, and to be assiduous in making their circumstances agreeable. He wrote also to his paternal aunt, who was known by the title of Nejmiyya, and who was then at Ta'ker,<sup>480</sup> saying to her: "If thou opine to meet thy two brothers, do so." And she rejoiced at their arrival with an exceedingly great joy; for she was affectionate to her kin in especial, and kind to the people in general.

And Muḥammed son of Khaḍir had been one of the competitors of the Sultan, his mother being Zehrâ' daughter of the 'Emîr Bedru'd-Dîn. She was a woman of mark, prudent, sagacious, and she it was who built the college in the village of Hîbâl<sup>481</sup> that is named after the Benú Khaḍir, and in which is her sepulchre and their graves. Now Muḥammed son of Khaḍir had acted badly towards the Sultan, and had openly opposed him; but he had forsaken that course. So the Sultan said to him: "O Muḥammed, go thou down with thy grandmother, and meet thy two grandfathers." Thus he went down with the princess Nejmiyya, to whom the Sultan gave a most complete outfit. f. 54<sup>a</sup>

And when they were gone down, the Sultan went down after them and met his two paternal uncles in Hays, whence they went forth to meet him. When they came face to face, each of them dismounted to the other. They mutually saluted; then they remounted their horses, and so entered the city of Hays. When repose was restored to them, the Sultan commanded the arrest of his two paternal uncles aforesaid, Bedru'd-Dîn and Fakhru'd-Dîn, as also of Muḥammed son of Khaḍir. He bound them, and went up with them so bound. He then conformed himself to the words of the poet of old: <sup>482</sup>

*"I say, as says the ass of the sad plight, to which they had assigned  
a load he could not well bear:*

*'I will have patience; for events sometimes become easy, even as  
events at times are straitened;*

*For, either I shall die, or the carrier; or the journey will come  
to an end with me.'*" 11P

And when they entered the house of correction aforesaid, they found therein the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín the younger, 'Ebú Bekr son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, who was the first of them incarcerated. Then the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yahyá wrote to the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín,<sup>483</sup> accurately informing him of what had happened in the matter ; and in the course thereof he says :

*" My love is that old affection of mine, and my engagement is that old promise of mine.*

*And amidst my ribs there is what I look upon as a devouring flame that sets a hell ablaze.*

f. 54<sup>b</sup> *Then I said : ' The arrival there of Bedru'd-Dín is for us an opportunity ' ; but the arrival advantaged not."*

Intelligence of this reached our lord the Sultan, but he took no notice thereof. He had held him in honour, and had bestowed upon him several valuable fiefs. Therefore he manifested not to him anything of that which had come to his knowledge.

And in this year A.H. 649 (A.D. 1251) Mejd son of 'Ebú'l-Qásim went on an honourable Mudhafferian mission to the sacred court of the 'Abbásides at Baghdád. But it has been said that the envoy to Baghdád was the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Ja'fer son of 'Ebu'l-Qásim. And he travelled by way of Beráqish<sup>484</sup> towards Baghdád, taking guides from the nomades of the desert, and following the road by the sands mounted on Buḥṭuriyy<sup>485</sup> camels.

The son of his brother narrated that they journeyed from Beráqish to 'Iráq in fourteen days. And when he reached the presence of the Khalífa in Baghdád he presented the letter, which the Khalífa Musta'sim<sup>486</sup> read, and then offered a prayer for our lord the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer. And the Khalífa gave command that a broadsheet diploma should be written for him ; and he appointed him to the sovereignty.

Then said the Khalífa : " See ye how much is the offering of the lord of Yemen." And they said : " Ten thousand ducats."

Then said 'Izzu'd-Dín son of 'Ebú'l-Qásim: "And how much is the offering of the lord of Egypt?" So they said: "Forty thousand." To which he replied: "I will not admit for my lord less than that." But the wezír rejoined: "Verily, the region of Egypt is of greater extent than the region of Yemen." But 'Izzu'd-Dín remarked: "Whatever deficiency there may be in Yemen, verily the qualities of my master make up for it." So the Khalífa replied: "Verily, we have been pleased with thy discourse." Then, turning to the wezír, he said: "Make ye him glad with the offering of the lord of Egypt."

The Khalífa then wrote a letter to the Sultan, commanding him therein to extirpate the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn; impressing this injunction on the 'Emír 'Izzu'd Dín also. The son of 'Ebú'l-Qásim now resumed his journey, and an envoy of the Khalífa travelled with him, who, when he reached the Sultan, clothed him with a robe of honour, and read to him the diploma, conferring on him the sovereignty, as the representative of Musta'sim for that purpose, and delivering to him the licence. So he remained in the palace for guests, and the Sultan conferred upon him what overwhelmed the offering and other things besides.

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f. 55<sup>a</sup>

And when the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn was slain, as will be hereafter narrated, if God so will, our lord the Sultan wrote to the Khalífa, informing him thereof. And when the envoy reached Beráqish there met him the news of the murder of the Khalífa,<sup>487</sup> and of the entry of the Tatars into Baghdád.

And in this year A.H. 649 (A.D. 1251) the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer was reconciled with his two brothers Mufaḍḍal and Fá'iz, to whom he granted as fiefs Lahj and 'Ebyen. And in the latter part of the year the arrival took place of the envoy of the Khalífa at Mekka the Honoured with the hangings of the Temple and the diploma for Melik Mudhaffer mentioned above, as well as his lieutenantancy as stated. So he robed the temple and proceeded to Yemen, reaching the Sultan there with the diploma and the commission of lieutenantancy.

In the year A.H. 650 (A.D. 1252) the 'Imám made peace with

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the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín entering into allegiance towards the 'Imám, to whom he sold the castle of Birásh for a hundred thousand pieces of silver; peace being thus broken between the 'Imám and the Sultan. This occurred in Rejeb of that year A.H. 650 (September-October, A.D. 1252). He sent him with a large array to Dhemár, despatching with him forces of his own raising, over whom he appointed captain the Sheríf 'Izzu'd-Dín Hiba son of Faḍl the 'Áliyyite.

When information reached our lord the Sultan, he detached against them the eunuch Táju'd-Dín Bedr,<sup>488</sup> and the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Din 'Aliyy son of Yaḥyá. But a dissension broke out between the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yaḥyá and the eunuch Táju'd-Dín, so that the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yaḥyá went back to the noble sacred gates (of the court), while the eunuch Táju'd-Dín proceeded alone with the Mudhafferian forces.

f. 55<sup>b</sup> When the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín and the Sheríf 'Izzu'd-Dín Hiba son of Faḍl saw what terrified them of the Mudhafferian forces they fled to Sewád<sup>489</sup> and kept to the mountain. Thence they sent to the 'Imám asking for reinforcements from him. So he sent to their assistance the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed  
11<sup>a</sup> son of the 'Imám, and all the Arabians of the Benú Shiháb, of Šinhán,<sup>490</sup> of the people of Ḥaḍúr, and others besides. There then took place, between the Mudhafferian forces and these, a number of engagements in which the prowess of the slave-guards shone conspicuously.

The 'Imám continued to despatch to them successive supports, leaving no single tribe that he did not fit out for them. So when the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín saw the multiplicity of the 'Imám's troops and their repeated arrivals in his support, there came upon him the old Arabian zeal and the warmth of the pristine Ya'rubian<sup>491</sup> blood-relationship, and he cautioned the eunuch Táju'd-Dín, recommending him to go back, and saying to him: "Verily, if thou return with those forces safe and numerous, our lord the Sultan will come up, and no one will be

able to stand before him." The eunuch went back therefore to Dhemár, thence marching to Yemen.

In this same year A.H. 650 (A.D. 1252) the Sultan obtained possession of the castle of Dumluwa. The means thereof were that he had sent his child 'Eshref, together with his brother and the mother of the two, as also the eunuch Yáqút,<sup>492</sup> to his maternal aunt, the daughter of Hāwza, placing them with her as hostages. They managed the matter and worked upon the garrison. But it has also been said that, on the contrary, the princess Dáru'sh-Shemsiyy,<sup>493</sup> daughter of our lord the Sultan, went up in anger with her father and complaining of him to her two brothers and her maternal aunt, the daughter of Hāwza; and manifesting her complaint against her father Mudhaffer, the eunuch Yáqút accompanying her. So she stayed with them some days, gaining over the servants, and making their circumstances comfortable; employing also the garrison, until she had made sure of her design. Then it was told to the daughter of Hāwza that a certain cow in Juwwa had given birth to a calf with two heads. So she willed to go down to Juwwa to see the cow, and she proposed to Dáru'sh-Shemsiyy to go down with them. But she complained of feeling unwell, and went not down. Then the daughter of Hāwza and her children went down. When they had gone down, the eunuch Yáqút lighted up a fire on the summit of the castle; for the signal agreed on between him and the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer was that he should light up a fire on the highest part of the castle. So when the Sultan saw it he went down on the instant, the Sultan being then in Habb, or, it is said, in Ta'ker.<sup>494</sup> He mounted, attended by a hundred horsemen, and set out. But the greater number of them broke down by the way, a party alone keeping pace with him. Among these was the inspector Manşúr. So when the Sultan arrived near to the gate of the castle he dismounted, and the inspector Manşúr was standing before him, to whom he said: "Who is this?" And he answered: "Thy slave Manşúr." He took the answer as of good augury,<sup>495</sup> and bestowed largesse upon him, giving him a robe of honour and

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f. 5

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raising him to a superior grade. He afterwards made him governor of certain districts. Says the author, on whom be God's mercy: "The inspector Maṣṣūr was an excellent chief and an intelligent gentleman; and the chiefship has not ceased with his children and his children's children unto this present day of ours."<sup>496</sup> Among them was the 'Emír Shujá'u'd-Dín 'Umer son of Yúsuf son of Maṣṣūr; to whom the chiefship descended until he became lieutenant of the Sultan Melik Mujáhid in the whole of the Yemenite territories. Another of them was the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Hiba son of Muḥammed son of 'Ebú Bekr son of Yúsuf son of Maṣṣūr, who became 'Emír of Zebíd. The son of his paternal uncle, also, the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Ibráhím ruled likewise for a long time in the city of Zebíd. And we shall mention those whom it may be indispensable to refer to.

f. 56<sup>b</sup> So when the Sultan reached the gate of the castle at Dumluwa, he found his brother Fá'iz standing over the castle gate, who would not open it to him. Then he addressed him, saying: "And is it so, while there are seventy castles that hold not with us or with you?" Then he passed on away from him, and they opened the gate for him, so that he entered. And there entered with him those who by that time had joined him of his slaves and attendants. This was on the 19th Dhú'l-Qa'da, or, as has been said, on the 25th thereof, in the year 650 (20th or 26th January, 1253).

131 In this year A.H. 650 died the jurist, the 'Imám<sup>497</sup> 'Ebu'l-Ḥasan 'Aliyy son of Mes'úd, who, when the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza made his appearance and obtained a predominancy in the district of Mikhláfa, went forth with a body of about sixty students in the direction of the low country, where he sojourned a space. Then, when the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza had died, and the seditions quieted down, the jurist returned to his country, Mikhláfa, also, and remained there awhile. Then there came to the country of the jurist the righteous Sheykh 'Ebú'l-Ghayth son of Jemíl,<sup>498</sup> who there built a convent, and the two lived giving mutual support to

each other. But when the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn appeared, and the might of the Zeydiyya sect grew vehement, the two moved from Mikhláfa and returned to the low country. The Sheykh 'Ebu'l Ghayth went down to the jurist 'Aṭá', after whom is named the village known as Beyt 'Aṭá'; but the jurist went to a pupil, the jurist 'Amr, with whom he remained until he died in the year stated.

In the year A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253-4) the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín returned, with the troops who accompanied him, to the upper country,<sup>499</sup> and dissension arose between him and the 'Imám, for the reason that he had received a mere trifle only out of the price of Birásh, and that the 'Imám did not fulfil what he had promised to him as to the affairs of the country. So he journeyed towards Ridá'u'l-Behíma<sup>500</sup> on the road towards the east country.<sup>501</sup> And there was with him in company the 'Emír 'Aliyy son of Wehhás and a party of his cavalry, until he reached 'Amqayn,<sup>502</sup> Ghumdán,<sup>503</sup> and Jurdhán,<sup>504</sup> which are valleys in the east country. There the paths became straitened unto them—him and the 'Emír 'Aliyy son of Wehhás—their condition being very critical. The Mudhafferian forces moved against them, and they saw no escape but to make towards the Sheykh 'Ulwán son of 'Abdu'lláh the Jaḥderite, in spite of the enmity and malice there was between the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín and the Sheykh 'Ulwán son of 'Abdu'lláh the Jaḥderite in the days of the Maṣṣúrian reign. But when they went down to him he met them with a welcome and profusion. He made them alight in (the castle of) 'Arúsán,<sup>505</sup> where he prepared feasts for them, and undertook their protection.

The Sultan went out against them and pitched in the country of the Sheykh 'Ulwán, many places in which he laid waste, and burnt others. But the Sheykh 'Ulwán ceased not to speak pleasantly to the Sultan, to visit him, and to beg him to grant an amnesty to the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, until at length he amnestied him through the Sheykh, who, being one of the most eloquent of the Arabians, sang as follows on the occasion:—

137 "Peace be upon the house within the courts of which is the rendezvous of a people for whom no covenant grants an amnesty!

*They made their camels kneel down at our home as they alighted, there being with them long spear-shafts, Meshrefiyy<sup>506</sup> sword-blades, and short-haired horses.*

*Lions of Mount Shera,<sup>507</sup> who waded through the sands, being made submissive by the genii-mutterings thereof; and the highland became alarmed through fear of them.*

*They aimed at the site of the sun by their grounding themselves on souls that have taken in charge the axiom: 'Death in glory, or eulogy.'*

*Until the Yemenian lightning flashed gleaming in the Dumluwa of power which has no compeer.*

*And they drove thither their full-teethed camels to the degree of footsoreness; leading thither their horses on which were lions.<sup>508</sup>*

*A prince led them, in whose right hand are gifts, among which are death and munificence;*

f. 58<sup>a</sup> *Unto whom flock the people whose swords are red cornelians<sup>509</sup> that scabbards befit not.*

*They imagined a potable watering-place; and when they drew near to it, and had entered it to drink, they said: 'God's decrees; not a coming to water!'<sup>510</sup>*

*'Esedu'd-Dīn decreed the decree with his spear to the banner of the brightest stars that have a uniting knot;*

*And a traverser gathered an array against them for Mudhaffer, who had gleaming swords and thundering drums;*

*A chieftain who refused that he should deliver over the sovereignty, and opposed himself thwartwise, having around him the lords of responsibility and the military,*

*Which he drove on as the clouds are driven when compelled by the east wind, until the embassy reached unto us;*

*Men of eminence, who were foes to me, and who began to vociferate: O 'Ulwan, has thy hatred departed?'*

*And to whom I said: 'Alight ye, then, in the branch-valley of*

*Teymá!* Oh, welcome! This is Samuel<sup>511</sup>; and this ('El'Eblaqu)'l-Ferd!

*I stretched over them the shadow of 'Arúsdán; I opened out to them, in service, the hands of plenty, which they extended.*

*Then thanks be to Him who brought near the stirrup of Muḥammed<sup>512</sup> to me! For it was the sphere and good luck that sent him to me.*

*Then the lords of responsibility<sup>513</sup> gathered around us; but neither their threats nor their promises caused me to waver. Princes, some contiguous to others; but the forces of my determination opposed a barrier between them.*

*Lions unto lions mutually drew nigh; but that which was between them, the tawny lion,<sup>514</sup> drove them away in fury.*

*Then who is my like in the unnatural wars of the Arabians? And who is like my station unto them in misfortunes, if they reckon?*

*For my title to glory is that I am the free man of the lineage of Ya'rub; and that, verily, I am, for whoever betakes himself unto my quarter, a servant."*<sup>515</sup>

So when the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer had granted an amnesty to the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, as we have narrated, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín went down, with those of his associates who were with him, to the Sultan, who met him at Mewsá'a, where he treated him with honour and kindness. And the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín marched on foot in the presence of the Sultan, his sword being upon his shoulder.<sup>516</sup> And when they went in to table, he stood on foot and did service.

After that, verily, the Sultan bestowed on him magnificent sums of money, reinforced him with an imposing array, and ordered him to march against Şan'á'. So 'Esedu'd-Dín marched with troops against Şan'á'; and when the 'Imám knew of this he went forth out of Şan'á', which 'Esedu'd-Dín entered. The Sultan subsequently went up to Şan'á' in Rejeb of the year A.H. 651 (September, 1253). And there ascended in his suite the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín son of Wehhás. And he pitched in the

parade-ground (*derb*)<sup>517</sup> of 'Abdu'lláh. The 'Imám was then in Tesá';<sup>518</sup> so he went forth from Tesá', and the Sultan demolished Tesá', with its gardens, returning then to Yemen, where he obtained possession of the castle of Derwán<sup>519</sup> from the Sheykh Werd<sup>520</sup> son of Muḥammed son of Nájí.

And in this year A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253-4) the Sheríf 'Ebú Sa'd was murdered in Mekka, the duration of his government there having been four years, all but a month. Certain of the sons of his paternal uncle went in to him in his palace, and slew him in the midst thereof. He who killed him was Jemmáz son of Ḥasan. He performed the pilgrimage with the people this year and remained in Mekka.

In this year A.H. 651, also, did a misunderstanding break out between the 'Imám and the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza with the sons of his paternal uncle, the sons of Ḥamza. These asked for aid from the Sultan, who commanded the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín to go to their assistance. So the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín went forth on the fifth day of Dhú'l-Ḥijja (about 25th January, 1254), the royal treasury funds having already reached him; and he met the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín in Beráqish,<sup>521</sup> after the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín had returned from Me'rib. Then they went on together, pitching against Zehrá',<sup>522</sup> which they took and demolished.

f. 59<sup>a</sup> 131

f. 61<sup>a</sup>

(ff. 59<sup>b</sup> ; 60<sup>a, b</sup>)

f. 61<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 652 (A.D. 1254-5) the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, with the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed and the Mudhafferian forces, marched to the city of Ṣa'da,<sup>523</sup> the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn being then in that city of Ṣa'da. And nothing was ever more expeditious than the entry of the two 'Emírs with the Mudhafferian troops into the district of Ṣa'da. So the 'Imám fled to 'Iláf,<sup>524</sup> leaving the Seyyid and Sheríf Ḥasan son of Wehhás in garrison at Ṣa'da with the half of his forces, while he himself marched with the other half to 'Iláf.

The leaguer against Ṣa'da lasted about a month, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín and the Sheríf Shemsu'd-Dín harassing them morning and evening with attacks until their reinforcements failed them. And in this interval an eye was destroyed of

the Sherif Jemálu'd - Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥasan son of Ḥamza. After that Şa'da was captured, and the Sherif the Seyyid Ḥasan son of Wehhás was made prisoner. The city was crowded with its inhabitants, and a considerable amount of treasure was pillaged, while an immense booty was taken. They also captured seventy head of horses. The 'Emír 'Esedu'd - Dín granted his personal protection to the greater part of the people and safeguarded the women. He provisioned the Birásh<sup>525</sup> citadel of Şa'da with an ample supply, and the two 'Emírs, leaving as garrison in Şa'da the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám, with Hiba son of Faḍl, themselves returned to Şan'á'. (f. 62<sup>a</sup>, b)

And when the two 'Emírs Shemsu'd-Dín and 'Esedu'd-Dín returned to Şan'á' with those accompanying them as captives, they entered Şan'á' on Friday, 12th of the first Rebí', 652 (about 1st May, 1254). And when the month Sha'bán (September-October) of the said year was entered upon, there arrived royal treasury funds and commands Mudhafferian for the departure of the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín in company with the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín to Dháhir.<sup>526</sup> So the two 'Emírs made their preparations and set out with the divinely assisted Mudhafferian forces, making for the Hášhid<sup>527</sup> country, the district of the son of Wehhás.

Having devastated a variety of places there, they left for the Maşna'a of the Benú Qadím,<sup>528</sup> which they captured, and proceeded to Núb,<sup>529</sup> continuing their progress towards Dháhir and seizing a place named 'Ebraq.<sup>530</sup> They then marched against the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn in a locality of the Ḥimyer country named Hejer.<sup>531</sup> He had collected considerable levies at the torrent-bed (Naqíl) of Ḥaşanát,<sup>532</sup> and had commanded them to defend that place. So the two 'Emírs distributed their forces in the environs of the torrent-bed, so as to intercept the communications of the 'Imám's levies, and then routed them ignominiously, making a great slaughter of them. In the number of the slain there was killed the jurist Ḥamíd son of 'Aḥmed the Jewel-Ornamenter, who was one of

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f. 63<sup>a</sup>12<sup>a</sup>



f. 63<sup>b</sup> the learned among the Zeydiyya sectaries, and one of their eminent men, who has left both works of a comprehensive character and treatises for princes and men of learning more in number than any other writer. Many other jurists and sectators were killed with him. There was also taken prisoner Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of Yahyá son of Ḥamza, who was of the descendants of the 'Imám 'Aliyy son of Ḥamza.

The 'Imám himself took to flight after being in imminent peril of his life. He subsequently shut himself up in the castle of Khuleb<sup>533</sup> in the Maṣání' range. The two 'Emírs then went back to Dháhir, wishing to advance on Jewb;<sup>534</sup> but their forces opposed themselves to this, and they returned to Ṣan'á' in the month of Ramaḍán, 652 (October–November, 1254).

In this same year A.H. 652 the Sheríf Jemmáz son of Ḥasan<sup>535</sup> was driven out of Mekka. They who expelled him were the Sheríf Rájiḥ, with 'Ebú Numeyy<sup>536</sup> and 'Idrís.<sup>537</sup> Rájiḥ remained there three months, when he was driven out by his son Ghánim, who maintained himself until the month of Shewwál. He was in turn expelled by 'Ebú Numeyy and 'Idrís, who ruled there for the month, when the Sultan despatched 'Emír Mubárizu'd-Dín Ḥuseyn son of 'Aliyy son of Bertás with one hundred horsemen to Mekka the Honoured. 119 The Sherífs encountered him at the gate of Mekka; but he routed them, slew a number of them, entered Mekka, and performed the pilgrimage with the people.

And in this month of Shewwál also did the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza undertake a journey to the sacred gates of the Sultan, with his brother Dáwúd son of the 'Imám,<sup>538</sup> and a number of the descendants of Ḥamza. The Sultan was then in the capital, Zebíd, and when they arrived he went out to receive them, and treated them with honour and kindness. He possessed a gift of meeting and of making presents such as had never been heard of. Tents were set up for them, and kitchens arranged at the Shubáriq<sup>539</sup> Gate of Zebíd for the whole time of their stay. Thrice they had a meeting with the Sultan; they remained a full month, and

the Festival of Sacrifices <sup>540</sup> came on while they were yet at the gate.

(f. 64

And when the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín resolved upon returning to his own country, the Sultan presented him with money, horses, dresses, and rarities, to an amount known to God alone. He also conferred on him the town of Qaḥma <sup>541</sup> as a fief, sending with him an escort of a hundred horsemen of the slave-guards and of the bodyguard. So the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín <sup>542</sup> set out for Jewf <sup>543</sup> and put it to the sword, meeting with many a glorious adventure.

f. 65'

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f. 65'

f. 66'

In the year A.H. 653 (A.D. 1255-6) the Sherífs of Mekka collected an immense levy to attack the 'Emír Mubárizu'd-Dín, whom they besieged in Mekka vigorously, penetrating the city from the hill-tops. He combated them in the midst of Mekka, but they broke his array and slew a number of his followers, making him prisoner. He redeemed himself from them, and returned to Yemen with the troops left to him.

And in the year A.H. 654 (A.D. 1256-7) died the eunuch Táju'd-Dín Bedr son of 'Abdu'lláh the Mudhafferian, in the city of Ta'izz, and in the month of the first Rebí'. It is said that he died poisoned, but God knows best.

In the same year A.H. 654, also, died the righteous jurist 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán son of 'Aliyy son of 'Ismá'íl son of 'Ibráhím. It is reported of the Sultan Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl that it became incumbent on him to expiate an act of conjugal intercourse during the daytime in a month of Ramaḍán, he being at the time in Jened. So the magistrate gave orders for the assembling of the jurists of Jened and its districts by command of the king. And when he had summoned them, and they were collected together, this jurist was present among them. The Sultan received them seated in a special audience, they being all admitted to his presence. And when the assembly was thoroughly quieted down, they were asked their opinions on the case, and gave for answer the solution always given to people in general; but our jurist spake not, when they answered, one word on the subject. It was then

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said to him : "For what dost thou not say something when the whole assembly give their opinions?" He replied : "I have a desire to know whose the case is." Then it was answered him : "Our lord the Sultan it is to whom the case has happened." To this he then replied : "There is no full punishment for him save a fast of two months. As to the feeding of the poor or the freeing of a slave, they are no retribution to him." The assembled jurists contested this opinion with him, so he replied : "The object of an expiation is to stamp out the peccant matter that may induce a repetition of the sin ; and that peccant matter that might induce a repetition of this act by our lord the Sultan cannot be stamped out in any way save this." Then the Sultan was seized with admiring wonder.<sup>544</sup> But God knows best.

In the year A.H. 655 (A.D. 1257) there befel a great scarcity, the market price of corn rising to an enormous degree in Şan'á', Şa'da, and Dháhir, and numbers of the people perishing of famine. It lasted six months, and the people ate dogs and wild carnivora.<sup>545</sup>

In this year A.H. 655, again, the learned of the Zeydiyya sect held an assembly, having among them the Sheykh Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of the Pewterer. And they cast reproach on the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Huseyn as to various points of his conduct, blaming him on that account, and visiting his acts with severe reprehension.<sup>546</sup> So he commanded that they should be put in fear ; on which they went over to the Ma'áziba <sup>547</sup> people ; and it is said that they went forth from Jewb in anger to the country of the Benú Şafiyi'd-Dín.<sup>548</sup> Then the 'Imám sent unto them Ḥasan son of Wehhás to hear what they reproached him with. But his intimates said to him : "Send him not unto them ; verily they will gain him over." But he opposed them and sent him. And when he reached them, they argued with him and won him over, so that he became one of them ; their assertions coincided, and he became their chief. Then the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám wrote to them, asking of them an offensive alliance to make war on the 'Imám ;

and they acceded to his proposal. This rejoiced him exceedingly, so that he issued forth from Ṣan'á', and they went up to him from the Ma'áziba people. They collected together at Bewn, and their councils were unanimous. They adopted the resolution to wage war on him after they had asked him to hold a disputation on what they reproached him with, as to his conduct. f. 68<sup>a</sup>

The 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín then wrote to our lord the Sultan, informing him of the disinclination of the Schismatics in respect of the 'Imám, and asking him for a subsidy in money. On this he sent them a hundred thousand pieces of silver with the Sherif 'Alemu'd-Dín<sup>549</sup> Ḥamza son of Ḥasan, who duly delivered the treasure to them an hour or so before the battle, and the bags remained thrown down on the ground among the tents until the event was over. 12<sup>1</sup>

And in the year A.H. 656 (A.D. 1258) the Sherífs and the Schismatics united in waging war on the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn, their gathering taking place at Suwána.<sup>550</sup> The 'Imám went forth, therefore, with his array, and passed by the fort of Mida'<sup>551</sup> towards them. In outward appearance the meeting of the two parties was for a discussion, not for a battle. So the 'Imám pitched in a locality near to them called Mandhar,<sup>552</sup> above the village of Suwána. And the outposts of the Sherífs barred his passage short of it, so that a mutual driving back took place, and the Sherífs multiplied around him from all sides. His troops quailed, and did not stand their ground. They were three hundred horsemen and about two thousand foot; the house of Ḥamza then standing for eighty horsemen and four hundred foot. f. 68<sup>b</sup>

When the 'Imám saw the defeat of his troops he turned aside to a place near at hand, and remained there, imagining that his people would fight in his defence. But they fled from him, delivering him over alone.<sup>553</sup> Then was his horse hamstrung, and certain footmen from Dhafár performed the office of his executioners, Shemsu'd-Dín participating therein with neither a cut nor a thrust. When he was slain, God's mercy on him,

1<sup>st</sup> they cut off his head, which they then brought to the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín, to the son of the Pewterer, and to the other jurists of the Schismatics. It was afterwards carried to Dhafár, and it was borne as a trophy in the castles and in the market-places. The 'Emír 'Aliyy son of Músá son of 'Abdu'lláh then gave orders for its being swathed in gravecloths and its burial in Mesh-hed<sup>554</sup>; but the people of Mesh-hed diverted him from that purpose, and it was buried in a grave below the castle of Qáhira<sup>555</sup> in the locality of the public latrines and dunghills, until the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín ordered it to be carried down to Suwána and buried with his body. So it was buried in a spot named Meshra'a<sup>556</sup> in the marsh of Suwána, where it remained three years, and was then removed to Dhenebán,<sup>557</sup> where it is to this our day; his grave being well known, much visited, and held to be a place where blessings descend on its visitors.

Jenediyy has said: "Trustworthy relators have given the information that at the spot where he was first interred at Suwána an odour of musk is perceptible." His slaughter took place on Wednesday, the 30th of the month of Šafer, 656 (about 7th March, 1258); but it has been asserted that he f. 69<sup>a</sup> was killed on the day when the Khalífa Musta'sim was put to death in Baghdád. Such is the view given by Jenediyy.

1<sup>st</sup> The Khalífa Musta'sim had written to the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, giving him orders about 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn, when news had reached him of his uprising and of the favour in which he was held by the people, promising him in that case the fief of Egypt. The 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn, on whom be God's mercy, was the most conspicuous of the 'Imáms of the Zeydiyya sect in latter times for his learning, his actions, his munificence, and his kindness.

And when the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn was slain, the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza wrote to the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer a letter informing him of the event, sending it by a messenger immediately in all haste. These were the words of the missive: "In the name of God the merciful, the compassionate. We

renew our service and give thanks for His favour, unto God, who be extolled, and then to the exalted sovereign presence, whose dominion may God eternize; and we inform its chief personages of the battle at Suwána. And the head of 'Aḥmed son of Ḥuseyn is in his hands." Verses:

*" By the bright blade of the Lord of the crown, our spears stirred  
up a thick dust in a field of battle between horsemen,  
Which arose in front of the horses when the occurrence of high  
deeds there frolicked in diffusing pure musk and blood."*

And when Friday was come, the third day (inclusively) of the slaughter of the 'Imám, the Sheríf 'Ebú Muḥammed Ḥasan son of Wehhás<sup>558</sup> proclaimed himself for the 'Imámate. The Schismatics, the Sherífs, and some of the commonalty of the Zeydiyya sect took the oath of allegiance, but others deferred. So, when those had taken the oath whom we have mentioned, he journeyed towards Ṣa'da, while the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín<sup>559</sup> took his way also, immediately after the event, to the Jewf,<sup>560</sup> and subsequently to the district of Ṣa'da, with the whole body of his associates. On this, he and the Sheríf Ḥasan son of Wehhás shared between them in equal moieties the castles and the countries.

1121

f. 69b

And when the Sultan knew of the oath of fealty to Ḥasan son of Wehhás, he went forth with his divinely assisted forces to Mewsá'a.<sup>561</sup> Then he sent the 'Emír 'Aḥmed son of 'Ulwán<sup>562</sup> to the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín son of the 'Imám at Ṣa'da, having formed sundry suspicions regarding him. But the 'Emír 'Aḥmed son of 'Ulwán brought back information that satisfied him, and he returned to his capital city Ta'izz.

And in this year A.H. 656 (A.D. 1258) the Sultan sent forth his divinely assisted forces under the command of the 'Emír Mubárizu'd-Dín Huseyn son of 'Aliyy son of Bertás to the district of Ḥajja,<sup>563</sup> some of the castles of which he seized.

In the same year A.H. 656 the scarcity and dearth went on increasing in severity after the slaughter of the 'Imám 'Aḥmed

son of Huseyn, so that many of the people died, more especially of the jurists of the Zeydiyya sect and of the house of H̄amza (Benú H̄amza). The first of these to die was the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám 'Abdu'lláh son of H̄amza,<sup>564</sup> who was the prince of the house of H̄amza in his day, as none of them was his equal in the qualities of a leader and ruler. His death occurred at Şa'da, and his brother, the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Músá son of the 'Imám, undertook the management of the chieftainship of the house of H̄amza after him. But it was not a long time ere he also perished after his brother. The brother of those two, H̄asan son of the 'Imám, died also, as did a certain number of the house of Wehhás (Benú Wehhás); so that the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám undertook the supremacy of the house of H̄amza. He and the 'Imám H̄asan son of Wehhás maintained an alliance for a certain space of time, the two being opposed by Muḥammed son of Suleymán son of Músá son of Dáwúd son of 'Aliyy son of H̄amza, with Suleymán son of H̄amza. He turned aside to enter the service of our lord the Sultan.

And when the 'Emír Mubárizu'd-Dín returned from the outlet of H̄ajja to the gates of the Sultan, the sovereign again despatched to H̄ajja the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yaḥyá with an imposing array, in which was included the 'Emír 'Ebu'l H̄asan 'Aḥmed son of Qásim son of the paternal uncle of the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of H̄useyn. And when the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yaḥyá reached Mefraq,<sup>565</sup> a valley between Mikhláfa and H̄ajja, the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín wrote to the 'Emír 'Ebu'l-H̄asan 'Aḥmed a single distich, as follows:—

117A “*'Ebu' H̄asan, I have not come to Mefraq in quest of Mefraq, but I seek other than Mefraq.*”

To this an answer was composed, in one distich, by the jurist Nidhámu'd-Dín Qásim son of 'Aḥmed the Shákirite, as though from the lips of the 'Emír 'Ebu'l-H̄asan, saying:

*"'Ebu Hasan, the day will certainly bring about what thou wilt see; and verily at times, a scorpion hath scratched against a viper!"* <sup>566</sup>

Then the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy did not delay to return to the sovereign gates, and the Sultan received possession of the castle of 'Eshyah <sup>567</sup> in the month Dhú'l-Hijja, A.H. 656 (December, 1258). Then the Sultan commanded a camp to be pitched against the castle of Kemím. <sup>568</sup> So the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Suleymán son of Músá, with the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yaḥyá, pitched against it with the forces of the Sultan.

In the year A.H. 657 (A.D. 1258) the Sultan received possession of Ḥajja and its castles, with the castle of Rí'a. <sup>569</sup> He also took possession of Hedhdhádḥ, <sup>570</sup> and of the castle of Kemím in the same year. And the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Suleymán had already turned to the service of the Sultan, as has been mentioned, and he built in a place named Rewq, <sup>571</sup> in the country of the Benú Dirár. The 'Emír Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl <sup>572</sup> felt aggrieved by this, so he took his slave, the 'Emír Jamálu'd-Dín 'Aqwes the 'Elfite, and pitched against Rewq until he had nearly captured it. Then our lord the Sultan went up to the district of Dhemár, and took Birásh with the sword by assault. He laid it waste, and he made prisoners the children of the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, with a numerous party of people. He then captured Rewq, demolishing it also.

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f. 70<sup>b</sup>

Now, when the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Suleymán opposed himself against the 'Imám Ḥasan son of Wehhás, he took possession of the low hollow of Jewf; but the 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd went to attack him with his own forces, and the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Wehhás, also, with the forces of his brother Muḥammed son of Suleymán was then at Súq-Di'ám. <sup>573</sup> When those forces reached him he fought with them, but they broke his array, and entered the covered way <sup>574</sup> by assault, where he was. So he took refuge



in a house there, and entered it. But there entered after him into it also Ḥasan son of Muḥammed the Jahḥáfite, who slew him, and thus took revenge for his father Muḥammed son of Jahḥáf. For Suleymán son of Músá had formerly made prisoner Muḥammed son of Jahḥáf, with a number of his associates, whose heads he had then smitten off in cold blood. On this day his son got hold of Muḥammed son of Suleymán, and killed him in turn for his father. The whole number of slain in this adventure was about a hundred men.

10. The 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd and the 'Imám Ḥasan son of Wehhás were not long before they fell out, and an estrangement of the most virulent character sprang up between them.<sup>575</sup>

In this year A.H. 657 (A.D. 1258) there happened an earthquake<sup>576</sup> in Šan'á' on the 4th of Dhú'l-Ḥijja, which did not devastate anything; but there subsequently occurred another shock in the west, which demolished mountains and threw down many places. It took place on the 22nd of Dhú'l-Ḥijja, also in the same year.

f. 71<sup>a</sup> Also in this year A.H. 657 did the Sultan take on himself the affairs of the Holy Sanctuary (at Mekka), and the edification thereof. So he erected a minaret, established its service, and fixed the stipends of its ministers.

f. 71<sup>b</sup> In the year A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259-60) the Sultan went up to Šan'á' in Muḥarrem, the first month thereof. And the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl was in Dhemermer, whence he demanded of our lord the Sultan that he should be equipped for an expedition to Ḥaḍramawt. He complied with the proposal, and provisioned him with all requisites. So he went forth to the low country of Jewf,<sup>577</sup> where he was met by Ḥiṣn son of Muḥammed son of Jahḥáf and 'Abdu'lláh son of Manşúr son of Ḍaygham, who begged of him assistance against the house of Ráshid son of Muníf. He complied with their request, though these had sworn a confederacy with our lord the Sultan. So a battle took place between them, in which were killed Ṭawq son of Ḥamdán, with a number of the house of Ráshid. When news

of this reached our lord the Sultan he was much incensed at heart against the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, so that it became impracticable for the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín to proceed to Ḥaḍramawt, and he therefore took the direction towards the Dhafár of the Sherífs,<sup>578</sup> in which he remained several days. 101

After that the 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám marched forth with his troops, and also the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan with such of the slave-guards as still continued with him (for the greater number of them had rejoined the Sultan). And they arrayed themselves to make war on the 'Imám Ḥasan son of Wehhás. Their encounter took place at 'Aṣáfir,<sup>579</sup> where the retainers of the 'Imám were defeated. He himself stood firm with great constancy, fighting with the utmost vigour. For he was a skilled horseman, of the bravest of the brave who have achieved renown. His retainers were beaten away from him, but he was not to be routed. Neither had he ever been known to fly, and therefore was he thrice made prisoner, this being the third time, and on each occasion his captor was the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan, a very curious instance of fortuitous coincidences. i. 72<sup>a</sup>

Now when the 'Imám had been made prisoner as we have recorded, the 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám incarcerated him, and so he remained in custody with him for ten years, at the end of which period he took him out of prison, as we shall by and bye narrate, God so willing.

The Sultan remained in Ṣan'á' and its neighbourhood until the month of the first Rebí' (February, 1260), when he proceeded to Yemen, leaving the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yaḥyá in Ṣan'á' as his fief, with its dependencies. He did not long remain there before there came the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan and pitched in Mudewwera<sup>580</sup> above Ḥamrá',<sup>581</sup> whence he would make forays against Ṣan'á'. One evening his troopers had made one of those inroads, when the garrison went out to encounter them, and his slave, the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aqwes the 'Elfite, was slain by being struck with an arrow. He who shot the bolt was 'Eshqar, 10r

also one of the slaves of 'Esedu'd-Dín, but who had entered the ranks of the Sultan's forces. 'Aqwes the 'Elfite was one of the heroes renowned for valour and for generosity.

f. 72<sup>b</sup> And when the Sultan heard of what 'Esedu'd-Dín had done, he equipped the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Sinjer the Sha'bite to make a foray to Şan'á'. 'Esedu'd-Dín then retired from his camping-ground, and went into the country of the Sherífs, after which no banner was ever set up for him. The 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín brought back his own camps to Birásh, and the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín remained a wanderer between Dhafár and Dhafer.<sup>582</sup> Subsequently there befell him a grievous calamity, to such extent that he sold his clothes. Then he wrote to the Sultan a letter in which he said : " If I am eatable, then do thou  
10<sup>r</sup> be my eater; or otherwise, hasten thou to my rescue, ere I be torn in pieces ! "

So the Sultan sent 'Aliyy son of Yahyá and the 'Emír 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Abbás to the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, who ceased not to be with him until he went down with the two to the Sultan. The 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yahyá was sent to him by the Sultan solely on account of the friendship and devotion which he knew to exist between them. So when the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín reached the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín, he wept in his presence, complaining of the imprisonment of his father and brother. But the former remarked : " Maybe that thou canst be more useful to them when near at hand than at a distance ; and perhaps also we may look for an opportunity from fortune, when so and so may take place." And this was reported to the Sultan, who was then in the capital city of Zebíd.

So when they arrived at Zebíd the Sultan gave orders for the seizure of both the 'Emírs, 'Esedu'd-Dín and Shemsu'd-Dín, whom he caused to be bound and sent to the fortress of Ta'ízz. On this event the Judge Siráju'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of Da'ás composed the following pair of distichs :—

*" In the whirligig of the days it has never occurred from all  
eternity, in any wise, and it has never come about for the  
nations in the indefinite lapse of past ages,*

*That a solar eclipse at one and the same time with a lunar eclipse should happen at the instant of the sun's descent into Leo."*<sup>583</sup>

When the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín entered where he found his father, his paternal uncle, his brother, the son of his paternal uncle, the son of his brother, and Muḥammed son of Khaḍir, they set to reproaching him and accusing him.<sup>584</sup> So he said to them : " O people, be ye not like unto the damned in hell, who, each time that any one nation entered therein, cursed their sister nation ! " <sup>585</sup> And they never departed from that prison, until they were called away to the mercy of God, who be exalted.

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And when the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yaḥyá was taken into custody as we have related, he then holding Ṣan'á' as his fief, the eunuch Nidhāmu'd-Dín Mukhtaṣṣ went up immediately after to reside in Ṣan'á', the camps returning to Qidda,<sup>586</sup> Birásh, and Dhafer. Next went up afterwards Fírúz, who stayed but a few days. Then went up the 'Emír Hiba son of Faḍl to collect the revenues, which he performed with the most complete success, taking also possession of the fort-castle Ḥasíra <sup>587</sup> in the month of Rejeb (June, 1260), which the sons of Wehhás had built, and which was demolished after being delivered over. The castle of Qidda was occupied in Dhú'l-Ḥijja of the year (November, 1260).

f. 73<sup>a</sup>

In Muḥarrem of the year 659 (December, 1260), the Sultan, on whom may God have mercy, received possession of the castle of 'Uḍḍán,<sup>588</sup> and next, in Rejeb (June, 1261) he received from the Sherif 'Aḥmed son of Muḥammed the 'Aliyyite, the castle of Birásh, giving him in exchange Maṣna'a and 'Azzán in the land of the Ḥimyer,<sup>589</sup> with money to boot.

f. 73<sup>b</sup>

In the month of Ramaḍán of this year 659 (August, 1261), the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Sinjer the Sha'bite went up to Ṣan'á' as feudatory lord thereof with its dependencies, the sovereign travelling cortége having already been organized to proceed to Mekka the Honoured for the performance of the incumbent rite of the pilgrimage. It set forth from the castle of Ta'izz in the

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month of Shewwál (September) of the year, the Sultan having with him at sea and on shore as his alms to Mekka what God alone can know. He travelled by land, may God have mercy on him, while the ships kept abreast of him by sea with stores and provisions. And when he drew near unto Mekka, which may God protect, the two Sherífs, 'Idrís son of Qatáda and 'Ebú Numeyy son of 'Ebú Sa'd son of 'Aliyy son of Qatáda, went forth therefrom, out of fear for him. He then entered Mekka with his troops and his levies, offering prayers, and ejaculations of obedience to God's call, in humility and with supplication, bareheaded and with an uncovered side, until he had performed the due amount of circumambulation.<sup>590</sup> The troops and the levies then advanced and pitched their camp in Mount Hájún.<sup>591</sup> He ceased not until he had fulfilled what was incumbent on him as to the stay and standing up at Mount 'Arefa<sup>592</sup> on the eve of the day of sacrifices, he staying in the locality of the Rocks 'Es-Şakharát.<sup>593</sup> His sacred banners were seen floating aloft, and those of the lord of Egypt. Then said unto him the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám :

f. 74<sup>a</sup> “ And wilt thou not make thy banners be seen to float, O our lord the Sultan, in advance of the banners of the Egyptians? ” But he answered him : “ Dost thou suppose that I will leave in  
 101 the rear the banners of a prince who yesterday defeated the Tatar, and that I will advance my banners because of my presence? ” Then he proceeded with his pilgrimage until he had completed it. He then made for the sacred fane, and what had been unlawful for him became lawful.<sup>594</sup> And he never ceased during the space of his stay to perform his evening devotions upon the cupola of the Zemzem well,<sup>595</sup> to circumambulate the fane on arriving and on departing, and to act as a servitor thereof, handling the broom, taking the water-skin under his armpit, washing it, and then anointing it with precious unguents.<sup>596</sup>

“ (*This is*) a station where a lord of greatness is entitled to approach with the manners of humility ;

*Where we have seen a prince, lord of a proud excellence, 'Ebi  
'Umer,<sup>597</sup> possessed of the fortunate portion, like copious  
shedding of tears ;  
Humble, abashed with fear of God, and who never before then  
was startled."*

He afterwards remained in Mekka ten days subsequently to the pilgrimage, to distribute his pious alms, until his charity had penetrated every house in Mekka, and had become universal to every pilgrim according to their various degrees. And he set forth the pilgrim-caravan of Egypt with life-giving generousities, with provisions and with saddle beasts. He dressed the fane with curtains, he bestowed honours upon the chiefs of the sacred precincts, and scattered gold and silver over the revered house.

And when he had resolved upon his departure, the blessed columns went forward to the well known as 'El-Beydá'.<sup>598</sup> Then he bade farewell to the fane, weeping and supplicating God's assistance, so returning happily and approvedly. Neither did he cease from undertaking kindness and diffusing beneficence at every camping-place until he arrived in his own country.

18v

(f. 74<sup>l</sup>)f. 75<sup>a</sup>

In the year A.H. 660 (A.D. 1261-2) the Sultan came back from his pious pilgrimage, entering the city of Zebîd in excellent condition and with great pomp in the month of Şafer (January, 1262). The Sherîf Yaḥyá son of Muḥammed the Sirájite had called the people to his standard (as 'Imám) in the district of Ḥaḍûr and surrounding parts towards the end of the year A.H. 659, and the bulk of the population of those localities had obeyed his summons. So the 'Emír 'Alemû'd-Dîn Sinjer the Sha'bîte had gone forth against him, springing upon him like a cat. His followers fled to the remote pasture-lands, and the 'Emír returned to Şan'á'. The Sherîf journeyed to the country of the Benú Fâhim, who took him and gave him up to the 'Emír 'Alemû'd-Dîn, who seared his eyesight in Dhú'l-Ḥijja, 660 (October, 1262).

(f. 75<sup>b</sup>)f. 76<sup>a</sup>

And in this year A.H. 660 died the Sheykh, the excellent Principal, 'Ulwán son of 'Abdu'lláh son of Sa'îd the Jahderite,

the Medhḥijite,<sup>599</sup> well known as the Kurdite, by nickname. He was a Qīl<sup>600</sup> prince, of the Qīl princes of Yemen, and an unique one among the notable Sheykh's of the age. He was noble, valorous, enterprising, hospitable, ready at spear-thrusting, continent, persistent in seeking for future reward and eulogy. He possessed an immense district in the east of Yemen, namely, 108 Hujr<sup>601</sup> and its dependencies. He seized upon many castles; among others, 'Arúsán, Wa'l,<sup>602</sup> Nuweyra,<sup>603</sup> and Na'mán<sup>604</sup> to the east of Jened. He waged war on the princes of the Ghuzz,<sup>605</sup> who could never gain an advantage over him. The Sultan Núru'd-Dín, in his day, had pitched against him several times with feudatories from among his 'Emírs, whose kettle-drums, when the time came for the roll-call to be sounded, caused the earth to quiver and men's souls to quake. Then would 'Ulwán say to his people: "Men of Medh-hij, be not afraid; they are but the skins of bullocks!" There is a poem by him, instigating to a war against the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, where he sings:

*"Whoever may have forsworn warring against Núru'd-Dín  
through affright, verily I, so long as I live, will never  
forswear it."*

He wrote to Sultan Melik Kámil of Egypt, asking assistance from him for his war against Núru'd-Dín, and he helped him with considerable sums of money. But the Sultan Núru'd-Dín ceased not to coax him, and to play off against him all kinds of allurements, until he was brought to him a prisoner, when he confined him in the jail of Ḥabb. So when he was in the prison he humbled himself exceedingly unto God, who be extolled, and in prayer with all sincerity. And it is said that he saw in his sleep a speaker who said to him<sup>606</sup>: "Pray thou unto God in these words: 'O our Lord God, verily I beseech Thee, for the sake of what Thou didst reveal unto Jesus of f. 76<sup>b</sup> a knowledge of Thee, and of what Thou didst impart unto 109 him of Thy names, with which he ascended to Thy heavens, as also of what Thou didst teach him respecting Thy lordship

and Thy unity, that Thou wilt only loose my captivity by Thy mercy.'” So he repeated this until he had it by heart, and he ceased not to pray with this supplication for days and days, until God set him free and restored to him his castles. One of his good deeds was the following practice: Whenever intelligence reached him that an orphan maiden had arrived at a nubile age without being married or sought in marriage, he used to propose to her himself and prepare for her a sum of money worth consideration.<sup>607</sup> When he had been closeted with her he would give her a divorce, and this he would sometimes do without their being alone together. She would then be sued for, either for the money or from a fancy to become her husband after him. Such was his custom. Then when Sultan Núru'd-Dín died and his son the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer came into the highlands from the low country, he asked him for aid in the capture of Ta'izz. So he advanced to him with something like twenty thousand foot of the men of Medh-hij. He was also an eloquent poet, who indited elegant verses. Of his metrical composition is the following:—

*“For, by God, I will not adopt as my home a land of which the mere earth is musk, if my portion therein be shared with others.*

*And why should I make it my home, my possessions being ample and my daily bread dealt out from the horizon of heaven? I trust not the days, which are but borrowed, and likewise the nights, which are but anxieties.*

*And when the nights have broken their promise to me as to what is above the soil, then in the Ever-Permanent is my trust.”* 170

Of his poetry is also what he sings :

*“When the word of God has gone forth (and His word in His sure scripture is truth as the kingdom is His by the verse on the kingdom), saying,*



*'He is the Exalter of whomsoever He will, and the Abaser of whom He will,' then how can I cavil against His sure word by doubt?*

f. 77<sup>a</sup> *And as to thyself, why, abandon thou it through anxiety and trouble, for thy greatest relief is such abandonment, God being for thee.*

*For, to command belongs solely to Him who created mankind and hath made them traverse the expanse of ocean in ships;*

*Who was their Producer without a former existence, as He is their Destroyer by death after their successive multiplication.*

*Then complain not thou to his fellow of what befalls thee from an unjust man, but lay thy complaint before Him who will do thee justice."*

When he renounced a wrong idea and his renunciation was effective, he thus reproached his inner man :—

*" Verily my surmise, mere error and play, was that indeed we two were in the period of tender youth ;*

*But when grey hairs came over me, and childishness came to an end, I reflected, and that error had not left me ;*

*But said : ' Yea ; but I have seen thee to be at times in the one of two moods that agrees with me.'*

*So I replied to it : ' There is no welcome for thee after that ; and verily I am from myself a divorced one, son of a divorced one.'*

*And it answered : ' We have heard that which thou hast sworn concerning us, but how many similar things hast thou not spoken that were not sincere ?'*

*So I said : ' What ! after divorce ?' And it answered me : ' And what divorce is there for women already divorced ?'*

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*Then I said to it, ' I have a protector against thee who will protect me ' ; and it answered, ' Who is he ? ' I then replied : ' The Lord of Might, my Creator !'*

*And a sound one undertook (to argue) in its favour against me. Then I said : ' This is not valid. Get thee, then, in all haste towards every prevaricator.' "*

His poetry is abundant, and his Díwán is a stout volume, the greater part of which is remarkable for the soundness of its *dicta*. It is rare to be met with.<sup>608</sup>

In the year A.H. 661 (A.D. 1262-3) the Sultan made himself master of the castle of Jáhiliyy<sup>609</sup> by purchase from the Sheríf 'Aḥmed son of Qásim the Qásimite, in the month of the first Rēbí'; and next he received possession of the castle of Shewáfí<sup>610</sup> in the month of Rejeb (May, 1263). The divinely assisted forces then marched, in Shewwál (August, 1263), to the fortress of Dhemermer,<sup>611</sup> where his camp was in the White Tower, with another in the Red Tower, a camp on the mount of 'Ibnu Síbenna, and a camp in Háma. Then came to him the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám, and the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Hiba son of Faḍl, who offered to the people of Dhemermer a hundred thousand ducats, the castle of Burullus,<sup>612</sup> the castle of Qidda,<sup>613</sup> the vale of Dhahr,<sup>614</sup> and besides these clothes and other presents; but they would not accept. Then there befell them a malady, the like of which had never been heard of. Whenever anyone was seized with it all his teeth would fall out; so he would remain for about a fortnight, and then he would die. A great number of them perished thus in a short time.<sup>615</sup>

f. 77<sup>b</sup>

And in this year A.H. 661 (A.D. 1263) the Sultan sent the suit of curtains for the fane at Mekka, and another suit for the Holy Chapel (of Muḥammed's tomb at Medína), upon the occupant of which be the most excellent of gratulations and greetings.<sup>616</sup>

(ff. 78<sup>a, b</sup>)

In the year A.H. 662 (A.D. 1263-4) the Sultan obtained possession of the castles of the Hímyeriyy people.<sup>617</sup> He also obtained the castle of Mida'<sup>618</sup> from the Benú Wuheyb,<sup>619</sup> to whom he gave in exchange the castle of Beyt 'En'um<sup>620</sup> and a sum of money stipulated by them. So the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín went up to Mida' after the divinely aided forces had entered it, among whom, as captains, were Ḥasan son of Behráam and Muḥammed son of Wesi', with others. The 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám had already raised up the Sheríf

f. 79<sup>a</sup>

Huseyn son of Muḥammed the 'Aṭṭárite, and had asked him for support in the hope that he would create a diversion for the people of Dhemermer and them of Mida'; but he had no opportunity to effect this, and there was no return of God in the 'Imám's favour with aid and success. So when the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín had taken possession of the castle of Mida', and the Benú Wuheyb had received their castle, with the money they had stipulated for, sixty thousand pieces, regret for what they had done fell upon the Sherífs, and they saw they had made a mistake [corrected from "it became apparent to the Sherífs that they had met with a loss" <sup>621</sup>].

The august commands next came to the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bíte to advance against 'Ibnu-'Aqass and Záhír <sup>622</sup> so as to capture them both. Their surrender took place in Dhú'l-Qa'da of the year 662 (September, 1264), and the divinely aided forces reached Şa'da in Dhú'l-Hijja thereof.

f. 80<sup>a</sup> In this year died the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan <sup>623</sup> son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl in his prison, and he was buried by the side of his father at 'Akkár <sup>624</sup> by his own desire. He was a brave, enterprising horseman, of whom there was no equal in his day. f. 80<sup>b</sup> His reputation renders eulogy needless. He it was who built the mosque at 'Akkár by the side of the tomb of his father Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Resúl, and who created for it a mortmain trust of a full amount, instituting therein an 'Imám, a Mu'edhdhin, a professor with students, and a steward. His trust estate sufficed for the maintenance of the whole of them, as also to feed whoever came as a guest to the mosque; and it endurés to the present time. But God knows best.

In the year A.H. 663 (A.D. 1264-5) Muḥammed son of Wisháh the Shihábíte was put in prison; and in the month of Sha'bán (May, 1265) the fortress of Dhemermer was surrendered to the Sultan by the inhabitants thereof by reason of the straits and sufferings to which they were reduced. They asked to be amnestied and admitted to companionship, going down to the royal gates. So the Sultan granted them twenty-six thousand pieces of money, and made them an alms of the castle of Qidda.

In the month of Ramaḍán he received possession of Great Faṣṣ,<sup>625</sup> and then the castle of Birásh of the Báqiriyy<sup>626</sup> was taken possession of in Dhú'l-Hijja (September, 1265) by Muḥammed son of Miqṣal the Wuheybite. 11<sup>a</sup> (ff. 81<sup>a</sup>-8.

In the year A.H. 664 (A.D. 1265-6) the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín Bek-Temir Qalláb advanced with the divinely aided forces, and pitched against Maşna'a<sup>627</sup> and 'Azzán.<sup>628</sup> Then the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín 'Abdu'llah son of Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza, and also the 'Emír Shujá'u'd-Dín Aḥmed son of Muḥammed son of Ḥátim, asked for assistance from the Sheríf Muṭahher, as did also the people of Beyt 'Erdem<sup>629</sup> when Muḥammed son of Wisháh was put in prison. So the Sheríf Muṭahher went up to the castle of Ṭawíla.<sup>630</sup> The 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bíte then went forth and pitched in Rukhám,<sup>631</sup> despatching troops to the Ma'zib<sup>632</sup> and to Mount Teys,<sup>633</sup> which they overran, and he fortified a spot above Ṭawíla named Ghuráb-Wakín.<sup>634</sup> They remained overlooking Ṭawíla about seven months. In the month of the first Jumádá the Sultan obtained possession of the castles of Maşna'a and 'Azzán. He made a present of thirty thousand pieces to the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza and to Shujá'u'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of Muḥammed son of Ḥátim, and they delivered up the two castles. And what two castles! Together they are the two shoulders of the towering peaks of Yemen, the two horns of the fortifications of the land of Ḥimyer; <sup>11<sup>b</sup></sup> <sup>f. 84<sup>a</sup></sup> <sup>11<sup>c</sup></sup> no one has ever breached them, and no grasping prince had ever coveted them. The 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín Fuleyt<sup>636</sup> had pitched against them with the forces of Egypt and Yemen; but he was scarcely able to save his own life, except after the pillage of his camp and of all in it, ballista, armoury, provisions, and stores, after he had disbursed against the two two hundred thousand golden ducats. The surrender of the two, and also of Demán,<sup>637</sup> was in the first Jumádá, 664 (February, 1266). After them the Sultan received possession of the lesser Faṣṣ<sup>638</sup> in the month of Ramaḍán (June), and of Beyt 'Erdem<sup>639</sup> in Dhú'l-Qa'da (August). He next took possession of the Qufl<sup>640</sup> and of

Shemsán<sup>611</sup> from the Benú Shiháb; and lastly of Lijám,<sup>612</sup> also in that month, by purchase from the children of the Sheríf Suleymán son of Músá.

4<sup>b</sup>-86<sup>a</sup>)

f. 86<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 665 (A.D. 1266-7) the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín Bek-Temir Qalláb was killed. The Sultan Melik Mudhaffer had commissioned him with the edification of Záhír,<sup>643</sup> and had despatched with him a hundred horsemen and five hundred foot, when the Sherífs of the house of Hamza attacked and killed him, with a part of his followers who happened to be with him. This was in the month of Sha'bán (May, 1267); and when he was killed the remainder of his followers took refuge in Beráqish.

111

The command of our lord the Sultan went forth for the 'Emír 'Ālemu'd-Dín the Sha'bíte to advance to the district of Dháhir with his forces; and the divinely aided troops went up to the district of Hájja, where severe combats took place and the matter became serious. The sagacious command and judicious view gave occasion for the ascent of the prince Melik 'Eshref 'Umer son of Yúsuf<sup>644</sup> to the district of Hájja, in order to quench the fire of this sedition. So he set out with his divinely aided forces, until he pitched in the fauces of Dhená'ib<sup>645</sup> in the camping-ground of his grandfather Melik Mansúr. He then directed the leaders of his forces into Hájja, where they laid siege to the castle of Mubyin,<sup>646</sup> in which was the Sheríf Muṭahher. When the siege became very much straitened around him he went forth humbled, and the divinely aided troops possessed themselves of the castle, which Melik 'Eshref commanded to be laid waste forthwith, and it was totally demolished accordingly. After the conquest of Mubyin, he directed his efforts against the fortress of Mikhláfa<sup>647</sup> in the month of Dhú'l-Hijja, 665 (September, 1267). This consists of Mewqír,<sup>648</sup> Quráḍa,<sup>619</sup> 'Akád,<sup>650</sup> Kahlán,<sup>651</sup> and the three Gharáníq.<sup>652</sup> And there was an immense conquest for him in Hájja and Mikhláfa, such as had not occurred to any one of the princes before him, save to his grandfather Mansúr. God's mercy be upon them both. The conquest of Hájja took place

in the month of Ramaḍán, 665 (June, 1267); that of Mikhláfa in Dhú'l-Hijja of that year (September).

In this same year A.H. 665 the Sultan proceeded to the country of the Jaháfil,<sup>653</sup> Dethína,<sup>654</sup> and its neighbourhood. They had been committing various depredations; so he slew a number of them, when the remainder tendered their submission, dismounted from their horses, and were cowed into giving proofs of good behaviour. So the Sultan returned from their country triumphant and successful.

Thus sang Qásim son of Huteymil, eulogizing the Sultan and felicitating him upon his success :—

*" Say, O Zephyr, to the people of the wild lote and gum-acacia scrub: ' What repelled your gossip from that night-chat? ' And expound thou the tale of the euphorbia-bushes and of the alighters there, and shouldst thou be wearied with the exposition of the whole, then do thou abridge. And bring thou, of the fragrances of our clan, what the perfumed borders of thy skirts bear of the musk thereof. I conjure thee by God, withhold none of the news of what thou hast done, but garble not in the recital. Thou hast set forth thy hint. What thou hast whispered is a secret; saving that thou art on thy guard against the maligner. What has become of the stream-bed of the valley? Have its cotton-plants come into season for a successive yielding of this fruit? Or shall we drive away the hearts of camels frantic with burning thirst from its copious milk or from its dark water? Oh the hand-grip of fraud! A young damsel has cheated me, and I have sold her my heart through the false pretences. She passed the night threatening me with separation, in her wish to kill me; but she left no sear on my heart, and became not detested. Limber of stature, neither too tall nor too short, but between tall and short;*

f. 87<sup>a</sup>

11v

*A female genie ; in the absence of the sun the force of bashfulness  
veils her from her own mother and father.*

178 *A Húri ; the marvels of her joyousness and her sheen testify that  
she is not human ;*

*As though, in her composition, she were carved by a turner out of  
the semblance of the sun, or of the moon ;*

*A body more diaphanous than a veil, enclosing a heart harder in  
flintness than a rock.*

*When her eye shoots forth glances from the bow of her eyebrow,  
she strikes thee dead by a shot from a stringless bow.*

*Oh how pleasant had been life, were it not for an ailment by  
which she dooms to an end of wretchedness through an  
agony of hell-fire !*

*Stand thou aloof, then, from men ; and, in assigning their  
respective pre-eminences, examine thou their natures, but  
look not at their forms.*

*And shouldst thou covet daily bread from the hands of a king, ask  
it first of God, and then at the hands of 'Umer ;* <sup>665</sup>

*A lord of princes, who, if weighed against his finger-nail, are of  
less weight than that finger-nail.*

*A most mighty one, whose adornment from his ancestral lustre  
is as the beauty of steeds with their frontal blazes and stars.*

*A successful one, his hand comes not from a combat, save with its  
finger-nails tinged in success.*

*It batters the hill-forts and the low valleys ; through him by  
sunlight invasions are night-raids rivers.*

*He rests not ; and with him one campaign eventuates, through  
the vastness of his views, only in some other expedition.*

*His sacrificial offerings, like those of the Apostle of God, follow in  
the path traced out by the family of God's Apostle.*

*Such is his determination that each point of its keenness is more  
penetrating than death, and more inexorable than the decree  
of Providence.*

*If the awe of him, or one jot of the awe of him, had been cast on  
the revolving sphere, it had never revolved.*

179 *He hath recalled to life the Tubba' <sup>666</sup> and the 'Edhrwá <sup>667</sup> (kings*

*of Yemen), so that the sovereignty of Qaḥṭān<sup>658</sup> over (the sons of) Muḍar<sup>659</sup> hath encompassed equity.*

*And he hath cavalcaded through the land, until the inhabitants thereof have said: 'This is the successor to Dhū'l-Qarneyn<sup>660</sup> and to Khaḍir'.<sup>661</sup>*

*Verily, the Khaliṣa<sup>662</sup> hath become widowed; the Princes of the House of 'Abbās and of the Tatars have disappeared therefrom.*

*And if thou seek a flight towards that which is debarred from a spouse, well, thou hast already found the two wings of a bird; therefore do thou wing thy flight.<sup>663</sup>*

*This is thy shirt, whether it be rent in front like (that of) the son of the prophet, or whether it be rent from behind.<sup>664</sup>* f. 88<sup>a</sup>

*Therefore bestir thee thyself for its virginity; and know that if thou neglect it thy act will be one of the mortal sins.*

*And I opine not that the spear of time, if tried by a thruster at me with it, will miss the groin.*

*May Dethina be congratulated! Verily, God hath compensated her for the waning-moon nights with the brightest mid-lunar and crescental effulgencies.<sup>665</sup>*

*Their two strongholds rendered the Jahlāfil tribes presumptuous, and they knew not that glass has not the strength of rock.*

*Thou sentest forth a thunderbolt in a flashing cloud that increased and lightened with peals of rainless thunder.*

*So they surrendered their chargers, taking to asses in lieu thereof. Marvel thou, then, at their weaponless ones on asses.*

*Thou hast blinded them, whereas they had hoped to escape one-eyed; and who prefers blindness to one-eyedness?*

*They came to thee, O thou Sun, in troops, having already tendered unto thee the dominion over their females and their males.*

*Lend ear: 'Mayst thou ever be defended from the claims of rivals for the sovereignty, shielded from jealousies'.<sup>666</sup>*

*Verily, I am a man in whose mouth there is a watering, and in whose liver is a rankling, through a disobedient lord.*

*Already have I experienced of the cares of the world and its* 1v



*pain, that through which the burden of patience is as  
alves.*<sup>667</sup>

*If the aged camel grumble, examine thou what ails his withers ;  
for verily, if he growl, he growls from a gall.*<sup>668</sup>

*And do thou regard me with thine eye of compassion, desiderating  
by that look the service of God alone.*

*And cloak thou over, of information received, what is interlarded  
with devilish suggestions, such that its suggester may make  
thee oblivious of the interpolated state of the information."*<sup>669</sup>

38<sup>b</sup>-91<sup>a</sup>)

f. 92<sup>b</sup> And in the year A.H. 666 (A.D. 1267-8) the Sultan took possession of the castles of 'Ulwán the Jahderite, which are "The Two Spouses" ('*Arúsán*),<sup>670</sup> And in the month of Jumádá the latter (February-March) of that year the sacred commands came to the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Sinjer the Sha'bite to proceed to Şa'da. He set out, therefore, towards it with five hundred horsemen and three thousand foot, pitching his camp in the Jewf, and then advancing towards Şa'da. The 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám, also, collected the whole of the sons of Ḥamza and an immense array. Among them was 'Asker son of Sinjer, and among them were footmen innumerable for multitude, who took up their headquarters in the Ravine of the Waterwheel (Naqílu'l-'Ajela),<sup>671</sup> a difficult place, in which there was but one path, which they occupied with horse and foot.

So when the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín arrived at the said ravine and encamped in the lower part thereof one morning just after sunrise, he breakfasted, and the whole of his people breakfasted also. He then tarried until the hour of the noontide heat, when  
 141  
 f. 93<sup>a</sup> he disposed as a garrison in the camp the 'Emír 'Ibnu Búz with two hundred horsemen and a thousand foot. The horsemen then put on their accoutrements and mounted the ravine, but no one could find a way, by reason of the narrowness of the place, its steepness, and the throng of troops therein. When the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Sinjer the Sha'bite perceived this, he advanced with a considerable force of the horsemen of his cavalry and the picked men of his foot, proceeding by a different

route. The enemy became not aware of this until he came upon them in their rear. There then came against him the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Ḥamza son of Ḥasan son of Ḥamza, who was at that time incontestably the champion of the sons of Ḥamza. And he was the first of them to be overthrown. After that the forces of the Sherífs were defeated, and 'Asker son of Sinjer was slain, who was a valiant horseman. So they turned back in retreat, their military band being taken, and the divinely assisted troops pursuing them.

The 'Emír Dáwúd son of the 'Imám took the direction to Birásh<sup>672</sup> of Ša'da, while the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín entered Ša'da, being preceded by the head of the Sheríf Ḥamza son of Ḥasan son of Ḥamza and the head of 'Asker son of Sinjer. He laid waste in Ša'da a number of places, proceeding thence to the districts thereof, which he devastated also, while his people pillaged whomsoever they found in the canton of Ša'da. He returned then to Ša'da, where he sojourned some time and took his road back in triumph ultimately to Šan'á', as a victor.

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And in this year A.H. 666 (A.D. 1267-8) the Sultan gave orders for the adornment of the door of the Cubical House (Ka'ba) with gold and silver by the hand of 'Ibnu't-Ta'izzí.<sup>673</sup> There arrived also an envoy from the lord of Egypt to Yemen with letters and presents.<sup>674</sup> The envoy died in Yemen towards the end of the year.

In it there died also the eunuch Nidḥámu'd-Dín Mukhtaṣṣ<sup>675</sup> the Mudḥafferite, who had been a slave to Gházi son of Jibrá'il, and then served under the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, who made him governor to his son Mudḥaffer. Him he educated in the best manner, and instructed in all polite learning. And when the dignity of the sovereignty descended to the Sultan Melik Mudḥaffer, he conferred upon him a military band, bestowing on him also several magnificent fiefs. He was fully worthy of the honours showered upon him, being brave, enterprising, and of exalted purpose. He was animated with a desire to merit an eternal reward, as well as a lasting reputation, being bounteous in his alms and building a number of colleges. His

f. 93<sup>b</sup>

foundations continue to exist unto this present time. Among the establishments instituted by him is the Nidhâmiyya College in Zebîd ; and also the mosque known as the mosque of Sâbiq the Nidhâmite, from the name of a slave of his ; also a college Dhú Huzeym,<sup>676</sup> one of the cantons in the vicinity of Ta'izz. There is also a college of his at Dhú Jibla,<sup>677</sup> and another in a place known by the name of Waḥṣ, which is in a spot near to the castle in Baḥrána ; <sup>678</sup> but God alone knows best.

And in the year A.H. 667 (A.D. 1268-9) the Sultan received possession of the castle of Birásh of Ṣa'da from the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám, after the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín had given as hostages his son and his daughter.

After this the order came to the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Sinjer the Sha'bite to encamp against Thulá. He pitched, therefore, a number of camps against it. This was in the month of the former Rebí' of the year (November, 1268), and he took Thughayra <sup>679</sup> by assault, sword in hand, and placed therein a garrison to hold it.

And in this year A.H. 667 the 'Emír Músá son of Resúl, and the 'Emír Mughultáy, one of the Baḥriyya Memlúks,<sup>680</sup> marched from the sacred gate (of the Sultan) with the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám, with troops, to encamp against Telmuṣ.<sup>681</sup> And when the siege became distressing around Thulá and Telmuṣ, the Sherífs and the Doctors of the Zeydiyya sect congregated about the 'Emír Ṣárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám, and begged him to send forth Ḥasan son of Wehhás as a relief to put a stop to those two sieges. So he sent him forth reluctantly. The Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh son of Ṭayyár went forth with him to his own castle, Míqá'.<sup>682</sup>

So when their forces were united they marched towards Ṣa'da and made a night attack on the camp pitched against Telmuṣ, so that Mughultáy with the Memlúks were driven in disorder to Felela,<sup>683</sup> where the men of Khawlán granted them protection and travelled with them on the road to the Tiháma.

But as for Músá son of Resúl, he took refuge with a party of Arabs travelling towards Nejrán.<sup>684</sup> The Sherífs received intelligence of this, pursued and overtook him with them. They put him to death as an insult below the castle of Telmuş in the middle of the month Jumádá the first (January, 1269).

The Sherífs now returned from Şa'da, collected immense forces, and marched against 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bite at Thulá, who came down from his camp. The reason of this was that the site was very broken ground, on which cavalry were useless, so that he feared for his garrison. He therefore descended, and brought them down also. Then the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín entered Thulá to 'Abdu'lláh with a numerous body of infantry. The 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín retreated to Shibám,<sup>685</sup> and retired thence to Şan'á', which he entered in the month of Ramađán (May, 1269). Afterwards the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín went forth to the Upper and Lower Dháhír districts, completely devastated them, and returned to Şan'á'.

And in this year A.H. 667 (A.D. 1269) the lord of Egypt performed the pilgrimage at Mekka, he being Melik Dháhír Ruknu'd-Dín Beybars Bunduqdáriyy,<sup>686</sup> going from Egypt to Mekka the Honoured, may God have mercy on him. And in it also died the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Umer son of Yúsuf Zeyn, the half-brother of Melik Mudhaffer on his mother's side.<sup>687</sup>

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(ff. 94<sup>b</sup>-95<sup>a</sup>)f. 95<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 668 (A.D. 1269-70) the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín equipped an expedition to Şa'da, which he entered on the 3rd of Şafer (1st October). And in the month of Sha'ban (April, 1270) peace was concluded between the Sultan and the Sherífs, the sons of Hamza.

(ff. 96-97)

And in the year A.H. 669 (A.D. 1270-1) the Sheríf 'Idrís, lord of Mekka, was killed; and after him 'Ebú Numeyy son of 'Ebú Sa'd son of 'Aliyy son of Qatáda was installed as governor, and remained there as such until he died in the month of the latter Rebí' in the year 700 (December, 1300).

f. 98<sup>a</sup>

In the year A.H. 670 (A.D. 1271-2) the supreme command came to hand for the siege of Thulá to be resumed a second time. The camp was pitched over against Jenáb,<sup>688</sup> and they

f. 98<sup>b</sup>

blockaded the people of Thulá, pressing them and distressing them until they saw distinctly that they would perish. And the Sultan obtained possession of the castles of the Maṣānī,<sup>689</sup> which were sold to him by one of their slaves named Muḥammed son of Qufl.

f. 99<sup>a</sup> And in this year A.H. 670 (A.D. 1271-2) arose the 'Imám 'Ibráhím son of 'Aḥmed son of Táju'd-Dín the Hedewite, his uprising being in the month of Dhú'l-Hijja (July, 1272). He called on the people to recognize him, and he was obeyed by the inhabitants of Ḥaḍúr, by the Benu'r-Rá'í, the Benú Shiháb, 141 and others of the countries of 'Ans and Zubeyd.<sup>690</sup> Then the Sherífs and the 'Imám went up into a mountain named Ṭíbbá,<sup>691</sup> the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín being in Jenáb. He moved thence to his camp, and pitched beneath the castle of Kewkebán. The Sherífs, too, moved from their camp to the hamlet of the Benú Shiháb.<sup>692</sup>

Therein died the jurist 'Ebú 'Abdi'lláh Muḥammed son of 'Umer the judge. His birth was on Thursday the 18th of Shewwál, in the year A.H. 591 (about 10th September, 1195). He was pressed to undertake the office of judge after his father; but he refused. The Sultan Melik Mudhaffer used to venerate him and put faith in his piety. Sometimes he used to visit him incognito in his house, and frequently used to ask for his prayers. He died after the noon-worship on Monday the 25th of Shewwál in this year (about 1st September, 1272). When the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer heard of his decease he wrote to the children of the jurist, entreating them to bury him in the mausoleum that stands to the south of the mosque of 'Udeyna<sup>693</sup> in the city of Ta'izz, which they did. None had previously been buried therein save those intimately connected with the sons of Resúl, such as relations, concubines, and young infants, their children.

144 In this same year A.H. 670 (A.D. 1271-2) died also the eminent jurist Yaḥyá son of Sálím son of Suleymán son of Faḍl son of Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'lláh the Shihábite, the Kindite. His father emigrated with him from the country of the Benú Shiháb

to Dhú Jibla, where he settled and where his son studied jurisprudence, the said Yaḥyá. He used to consort with Reshíd, the chief Registrary in the Supreme Court of the Mudhafferian realm. When Reshíd died, it was whispered to the Sultan that this jurist had in his possession property belonging to Reshíd. He was therefore sued for twelve thousand sequins and put to the torture.<sup>694</sup> He died not long after of rage at this treatment, in the evening of Tuesday, 27th of the latter Rebí of the year (about 5th November, 1271).

In it, A.H. 670, died also the jurist and learned 'Imám, 'Ebú 'Aliyy Yaḥyá son of 'Ibráhím son of Mi'akk, who was one of the doctors of mark. At first he was a chieftain in his tribe, engaged in horsemanship and caring nothing for the acquisition of learning. The reason of his taking to study science was that he asked in marriage a woman of the Benú Khaṭṭáb<sup>695</sup> tribe, a daughter of the jurist 'Ebú Bekr son of Khaṭṭáb. The jurist refused to marry him with her, saying to him: "Thou art not her peer; for verily thou art an ignorant man." He was pricked by this remark, and took to seek for learning until he became an 'Imám. He then busied himself with letters, and became a proficient in syntax, lexicology, pedigrees, prosody, and the like, so that his name became a proverb for a good neighbour, a man of his word in whatever protection he promised to refugees. There are anecdotes current about him in this respect, too numerous to be mentioned here. He was brave, enterprising, generous, munificent, and an eloquent poet with a good diction. He composed several panegyrics on the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer. He also compiled many books on syntax and other subjects. Among his literary works is the book named 'El-Kámil, on prosody and rhymes, which is a work of great authority; also those entitled 'El-Wáfi, 'El-Káfi, etc. His books are the best compiled by a native of Yemen, as to investigation and research. Of his poetry, also, is what he indited in praise of blackness, which is as follows:—

f. 99<sup>b</sup>

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f. 100<sup>a</sup>

*"Repeat thou unto me thy tale on the day of Kethib,<sup>696</sup> and console thou me therewith of my saddened heart.*

*She came forward one dark evening, to steal glances at me from near at hand,*

*When I felt safe from the ambush of the rancorous, from the eavesdropping of tale-bearers, and the eye of the rival.*

*She appeared unto us from among the spaces between the tents, trailing on the ground the redundancy of her new mantle.*

*She showed us her musky locks and the ridge of her nose slantingly, straight as a wand, swelling as a sand-hill.*

*Born among the daughters of the slave-girls, like a fawn, strange, but house-nurtured.*

*Now, should mankind reproach me as to my love for her, my reproacher would never, to all eternity, be right.*

171 *They say: 'A black girl!' But were they only just; and what would it cost were they just to the disparaged one?*

*For, were there no blackness, and the marvellous beauty of mystery wherewith God hath endowed it,*

*It would never have dwelt in the centres of the eyes, nor would it have been in the cores of the hearts;*

*Neither would the mole have adorned the cheek of the stripling, nor would tracery have embellished the tablet of the sage.*

*Is not the Stone of the Corner-Pilaster<sup>697</sup> the best of all stones?*

*Is not musk more fragrant than all other perfumes?*

*Is not the delight of mankind, in their generation, in the eulogy of youth and the dispraise of hoariness?*

f. 100<sup>b</sup> *The eye is not admired when the eyelids are void of stibium<sup>698</sup>; nor the palm of the hand when untinged with henna.<sup>699</sup>*

*Neither is every eye like the eye of the lover, nor every heart like the heart of one's beloved."*

He united in himself the two primacies, that of religion and that of the world, being also held in great honour by princes. It is related that there was once in his village a stranger, one who had sought asylum with him, and connected with him. This man undertook to make a journey to certain localities, and

hired a beast of a relation of the Sheykh to go to the place desiderated. The two journeyed together, and when they were on their way the man of whom he had hired the beast murdered him, took possession of all he found on him, and returned to the village, as though he had done nothing. Information of this reached the jurist Yaḥyá, who was pained thereat, but bided his time. So when the day of rendezvous was come, and the people were assembled in the market-place, he gave orders for the murderer to be seized. He was seized accordingly, and brought bound before him. He ordered him to be executed; so he was put to death in the market-place on the evidence of witnesses.<sup>700</sup>

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When the jurist had set about studying the sciences, and the fruits of his efforts became manifest, he again sued for the daughter of the jurist 'Ebú Bekr son of Khaṭṭáb, renewing his request to be united with her; to which her father now gave his consent. She bore him a number of children, and never left him until death separated them.

In the year A.H. 671 (A.D. 1272-3) the 'Imám 'Ibráhím son of 'Aḥmed son of Táju'd-Dín sent the Sheríf Jemálu'd-Dín son of Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'lláh to Ḥaḍúr, to the country of the Benú Shiháb, and to the country of the Benú'r-Rá'í, who met him with their submission. His arrival in their country was in company with seven individuals, and he performed public worship with the people on the first Friday in the midst of seven thousand.

And in the same year A.H. 671 (A.D. 1272-3) the Sherífs quarrelled with the 'Imám, betaking them to Suleymán son of Músá. They were the people of Jehrán, to whom the Sultan, to whom God be gracious, had given in fief the cantons of Dhemár, receiving from them afterwards Lijám.<sup>701</sup> The Doctors of the Zeydiyya sect rose with them in that canton, and they marched with immense multitudes to Dhemár, which they entered by force, killing a number of the garrison whom they found therein, but granting safeguard to the remainder. They devastated it most completely; and this took place in the month of Jumádá the first (December, 1272).

f. 101<sup>a</sup>

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The 'Imám 'Ibráhím and the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám, as also the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Shemsu'd-Dín and the rest of the Sherífs, marched in the desire to reach Ḥadda and Sibá'.<sup>703</sup> So they passed by at speed. And there was no one in Şan'á' but the son of Nejáh with a hundred horsemen of the Sultan's forces. The Sha'bíte and his array were in camp at Jenáb through fear for the garrison of Thulá. So the Sherífs turned aside from Şan'á'; and when the night was drawing to a close, the 'Esediyya<sup>703</sup> troop entered it, who had been in the camp of the Shá'bíte, ninety horsemen, the pick of the forces of Şan'á', foot or horse.

The Sha'bíte then went up with the remainder of his forces, passed on to the camps blockading Thulá, reinforced them, marched to Shibám, and from Shibám to Şan'á', where a sanguinary combat ensued between him and the Sherífs, who then levied an immense force and marched therewith against the son of 'Abdu'lláh. He decamped from Thulá, and marched with his force towards Dhirwa,<sup>704</sup> in which was Werd son of Náji; who had not had time to complete its fortifications. He therefore made an attack upon them as the night drew to a close, devastated it, and returned to his companions in Sibá'.

The circumstances of the time called for the advance of the Sultan with his household troops to the neighbourhood of Dhemár. When he arrived there the inhabitants of the canton came to meet him, in love or in fear, in the month of Sha'bán of the year 671 (March, 1273). He abode in Dhemár a certain number of days, and gave orders for the restoration of its covered way (*derb*). He then advanced towards Şan'á', and encamped in the fortified suburb (*derb*) of 'Abdu'lláh. The Sherífs then retreated to Beyt Khabbáq,<sup>705</sup> and the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bíte went up against them, upon which there took place the battle of Beytu't-Táhim.<sup>706</sup> The Benú Şafiyi'd-Dín killed the Sherífs and a number of their troops in the month of Dhú'l-Qa'da of the year (May-June, 1273). The Sultan then advanced into Şan'á', occupying the public parade-ground (*Meydán*) in Dhú'l-Ḥijja (June-July).

And in this year 671 (April, 1273) the Sultan sent the draperies of the Honoured Temple (of Mekka) in the charge of Qásim son of Mahfúdh.<sup>707</sup>

In the year A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273-4) the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer entered Šan'á' on the 18th day of Muḥarrem (5th August, 1273), taking up his abode there. And the Sherífs marched to Ḥaḍúr, where the whole of the inhabitants joined them with acclamation, and they encamped against 'Azzán,<sup>708</sup> causing great distress to those in it, so that a parley was held for the surrender of the place and safe-conduct for the troops therein. The garrison therefore came down, and the Sherífs took possession of the castle. f. 102<sup>a</sup>

Immediately after this, 'Aḥmed son of Jábir arrived and began to negotiate a peace between the Sherífs and the Sultan in especial, but also between the 'Imám and the whole people in general. So the Sultan proceeded to Yemen in the month of the first Rebí' of the year (September, 1273). W<sup>r</sup>

He now detached his divinely aided forces against Beyt Khabbíḍ, which they took by assault. The troops found therein a large quantity of wine, the jars of which they broke and allowed it to run to waste.<sup>709</sup> The capture of Beyt Khabbíḍ took place on Friday, the 30th of the month of the first Rebí' of the year (about 15th October, 1273).

And when the Sultan's forces entered Beyt Khabbíḍ the Sherífs decamped from Ḥadda and Sibá', which the Sultan caused to be totally devastated, and their trees to be cut down. Among these were some ancient trees, about two hundred years old, not one of which was left standing. It is said that a certain almond-tree was lopped of its head, when there was found within it a marble tablet, on which was written: "I was planted in the year forty<sup>710</sup> of the Híjra." f. 102<sup>b</sup>

The Sultan then commanded that a certain mountain called the Peak of 'Anter<sup>711</sup> should be planted and built on for habitation. He named it Dhafár,<sup>712</sup> and he fitted it with all kinds of stores. He then journeyed with his camp to Šáfiya,<sup>713</sup> on his return to Yemen in the month of the latter Jumádá of the year

672 (December, 1273—January, 1274), the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bite travelling in the august royal suite as far as 180 Dhemár, where the 'Emír halted and the august cortége continued its progress towards Yemen.

And in this year A.H. 672 the 'Emír H̄usám son of Bedhl̄iyy set up a claim to Beráqish, and seized upon it, he being its governor. The Sultan detached therefore the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bite to that place, and commanded the 'Emír 'Erdem to remain in waiting at Şan'á'. 'Aliyy son of H̄átim proceeded to the Beráqish in company with the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín, and opened a correspondence with H̄usám son of Bedhl̄iyy, taught him what action to adopt, and promised him the Sultan's favour. He abandoned him not until he had obtained for him somewhat of the Sultan's bounty and also one of the castles of the Benú'r-Rá'í, named Maşna'a.<sup>714</sup> The 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín received possession of Beráqish, and returned to Şan'á'. After this, peace was made between the Sultan, the 'Imám, and the rest of the Sherifs. Peace also took place on the part of the Sultan in favour of the 'Emír Muḥammed son of H̄átim son of 'Amr son of 'Aliyy the Hemdánite. There chanced, immediately after this peace, an expedition of the Sherifs into Nejrán; and in it was killed the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Wehhás. They who killed him were of the Yam<sup>715</sup> clan.

f. 103<sup>a</sup> And in this year A.H. 672 died the Sheykh 'Abdu'l-Wehháb son of Yúsuf son of 'Izzán the Ghirniqite. He was a Sheykh, a Head-Professor of note among the class, valiant, enterprising, 180 generous, munificent, awe-inspiring to his foemen. He had been made Governor of the land of the 'Awádir<sup>716</sup> at a fixed amount of revenue payable to the Sultan, and his beneficence was great. He built a college<sup>717</sup> in the castle of D̄hafer, and endowed it richly, naming to it a professor and students. He was given to the use of intoxicants, and on one occasion he went from his own country as a visitor to the jurist 'Umer son of Sa'íd the 'Uqaylite. When he entered the mosque to the presence of the jurist, he bound his handkerchief to his own neck and then to the foot of this latter, saying: "I will not loose it until thou

give me a pledge <sup>718</sup> to repent, and a warranty against wine-bibbing." The jurist then exhorted him to forsake his design, but he would not. He then complied with the Sheykh's request and administered to him a pledge of repentance. This was in the month of Ramaḍán, and it became the means of his reformation. It is related that when the day of the Festival <sup>719</sup> was come, he made preparation to drink a little wine which he had laid in store for that day, and gave orders for it to be brought to him. He took the goblet in his hand and raised it to his mouth, when he felt on his back the stroke of a scourge as though of fire. He then cast away the goblet out of his hand, kicked the vase in which was the wine, broke it, and gave instant orders for a crier to proclaim in his country the unlawfulness of wine, showing great severity in cases of its being drunk. After that, he never drank an intoxicant. He performed the pilgrimage at Mekka this year, A.H. 672; and having completed its rites, he went forth with the desire to visit the grave of the Apostle of God, on whom be the salutation and greeting of God, at Medína, on that sojourner wherein be the salutation. And when he had entered Medína he took up a post at the station for visitors at the sacred mausoleum, and several present heard him exclaim: "O thou Apostle of God, I am a refugee unto thee from the unrighteousness that recurs to me; O my Lord God, suffer me not to return unto it." So he died as he was returning on foot from his visit to Medína. His companions took him up as a burden, returned to Medína, and buried him in the Baqí' cemetery <sup>720</sup> in the midst of the companions of the Apostle of God, on whom be God's salutation and greeting, in this said year. May God, who be extolled, grant him grace!

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f. 103<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 673 (A.D. 1274-5) there ensued a great dearth in the land, and there died of mankind a whole universe innumerable; and men ate beasts that had died without being slaughtered in the canonical manner. <sup>721</sup>

And in the month of the latter Rebí' a party of retainers of the cattle-breeders (Khawwáliyyún) <sup>722</sup> seized the castle of Kewkebán and made themselves dominant there. Then was

the head of every mischief-maker lifted up, and the rabble rose in tumult for rebellion.

(f. 104<sup>a</sup>)

f. 104<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 674 (A.D. 1275-6) the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bite went out to the canton of Dhemár to collect the revenues due to the Sultan, leaving the whole of the 'Esediyya slave-guards in garrison at Şan'á' under 'Ibnu'l-Ghalláb. Only one single man out of their number marched with the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín. There befell between this one man and a certain Dáwi, one of the slaves of the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín, a quarrel over drink. And Dáwi killed him during the march of the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín to Dhemár, the homicide then taking to flight. So soon as the 'Esediyya slave-guards heard of the murder of their comrade, they mutinied and quitted duty. They had formerly shown signs of presumptuous overbearing; so they broke out in rebellion against the Sultan, and took possession of Şan'á', seizing all the property of the Sha'bite in the place. This happened on the 24th of the first Rebí' (about 18th August, 1275).

18V

f. 105<sup>a</sup>

They wrote to the 'Imám and to the Sherífs to come and join them. So the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh joined them on the 27th with seven thousand footmen, he having been in Mount Ḥaḍúr. Afterwards came also the 'Imám and the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám, the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín, and the rest of the Sherífs, who entered Şan'á' on the 5th of the first Jumádá of the year 674 (about 1st November, 1275), there taking up their abode. On the Friday following the 'Imám rode in state to the cathedral mosque of Şan'á', and ascended its pulpit. The Mu'edhdhin, too, proclaimed from its minaret the formula: "Come to the best of action."<sup>723</sup> For there was mixed within them an immense deal of contentiousness and presumption.

*"And had they known the latter end of the matters, they had asserted the commencements thereof with caution, and had cast away presumption."*

*But that which is providentially ordained overpowers the man of intelligence, and despoils him when his projects are intent on despoiling."* 188

And they became unanimous as to issuing forth from Şan'á' to advance to Dhemár. Perhaps they even coveted what was beyond Dhemár. Then the 'Emír 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh rode one day to the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám, and they held a council about their matters. The 'Emír Dáwúd said: "Verily I perceive you, O ye Sherífs, since you entered Şan'á', inclined to ease and supineness, while your minds suggest to you an expedition to Dhemár, and even to Yemen for warfare against the Sultan; which is a pernicious idea. If you first reflect on your own affairs, and then think about an expedition to Dhemár, it will be wiser. Be you not led into over-confidence by those inept fellows <sup>724</sup> who have already formed part of your array. For, by God, should they smell the odour of Melik Mudhaffer and see the flash of his lightning, verily the inward truth of their case would become manifest to you. Now, I have to ask you: Have you seen one single man come to join us from Hemdán,<sup>725</sup> who are the chief part of the inhabitants; and will anyone join them <sup>726</sup> from Şan'á' after our having evacuated it? Did you not give commandment unto them <sup>727</sup> to troop to us; and did they not say they would not so troop to us until we had passed through their country, and when we had passed through it there came not one of them to join us? So was it also with Şinhán.<sup>728</sup> Is this anything else than watching and waiting, and seeking for information of what will come from Yemen? Melik Mudhaffer will not abandon his dominions nor his city. What, then, is it that preoccupies him and prevents him from setting out and coming up? Look you, then, to your own concerns."

f. 105<sup>b</sup>

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Then answered unto him the 'Emír 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh: "It is for thee to give consideration unto all our concerns, and we are in thy hands." So he said: "By God, verily you all shoot from one same bow; your 'Imám and his followers from

among you, Arabian or Kurd." <sup>729</sup> The other then asked : "What, then, is the plan thou wouldst recommend us to pursue? What is best to do?" Then he answered : "The best is that you adopt one of two alternatives : first, we must either remain in Şan'á', we being three hundred horsemen ; and each day we must surprise at day-dawn a village of Hemdán or Şinhán until they enter into subjection to us, humiliated and cowed ; or, secondly, we must go forth to some one who will eagerly receive us, and we must evacuate and lay waste Şan'á'. Then, we being three hundred horsemen, with five thousand foot, we can capture any tribe towards whom we turn our steps, and we can take refuge in some stronghold and secure fastness ; therewithal, no one will advance against us, and no one will enter Şan'á' while we maintain this aspect."

f. 106<sup>v</sup>      The two now arose and went forth to the 'Imám. So after  
119. this, there was no course left but to go forth to the canton of Jehrán and the annulment of the proposals of the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín. So the 'Imám went forth to the parade-ground ; after which the whole of them marched to the Khawláníyy well, <sup>730</sup> proceeding thence to 'Umriyy <sup>731</sup> below Kemím. <sup>732</sup> And when they had pitched their tents at 'Umriyy, the 'Imám gave orders to the 'Emír 'Aliyy son of Ráshid son of Khálid son of 'Aṭwa to advance to Khidár <sup>733</sup> and raise up his maternal uncle, the Sheykh Ḥusám son of Faḍl, with all his followers of the Şinhán tribe. So he proceeded immediately to the said Sheykh, who, when he arrived and informed him of the message from the 'Imám, answered : "We will make no delay in joining the 'Imám." He therefore passed the night at the Sheykh's. And when there had elapsed rather more than one-half of the night, there came a messenger from the Sultan Melik Muḍhaffer with a letter for the Sheykh Ḥusám son of Faḍl, in which was written : "Its departure is from Ḥaql, and we are on the march to Şan'á', if God so will. And we intimate unto you to come and join us, warning you not to place an overweening confidence in those Sherífs." The hand of the Sheykh Ḥusám son of Faḍl became as it were paralyzed ; so he went in to 'Aliyy

son of Ráshid, awoke him from his sleep, informed him of the Sultan's letter, and said to him: "Arise, proceed to the 'Imám, and inform him of this; for there remains not unto us a junction with him." 111

When 'Aliyy son of Ráshid reached the 'Imám, he informed him of the news. So the 'Imám called together the whole of the Sherífs, and communicated the intelligence to them. They were struck with consternation, and said to the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín: "What dost thou propose now?" He answered: "I gave you my opinion in Şan'á', and you accepted it not. At this moment I command you not to persevere nor to remain inactive. If you persist, you are not safe from defeat; and if you desist, to desist is a defeat of itself. But mount this moment before the news becomes publicly known of the Sultan's ascent." So the whole of them set out from 'Umriyy, and they went down to the ravine of Ghá'ira.<sup>734</sup> Then the news became generally known of the Sultan's approach, which threw them into consternation and bewilderment. The ('Esediyya) slave-guards then returned to Şan'á'. After which the Sherífs advanced and encamped at a ford, marching to 'Ufuq<sup>735</sup> early on the Thursday; their purpose was to march early on the Friday to Jebjeb.<sup>736</sup> So the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín went forth with sixty horsemen to seek for intelligence. And they came and saw that the Sultan's array was already encamped in Dhemár. So they made a raid with their horsemen around the outskirts of the camp. But the Sultan commanded that no one should go forth against them, and forbade anyone to mount his horse. So the Sherífs returned to their camp at 'Ufuq, and reported: "We encountered the Sultan; but no one came out against us. The probability is that the camp is weak." Thus they passed the night in their camp rejoicing. 112

And when the day-dawn broke on the Friday, they had not collected their senses when a single horseman from the corps of cavalry appeared in sight. On this the Sherífs mounted, not doubting but that it was a foray with intent to surprise and spoil them, in return for their expedition of the day before. So



the 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín mounted with about forty horsemen, ordering the camp to await in expectation of his return. And nothing could be quicker than his return. So they collected around him and asked of him: "What news?" He answered: "Here is Melik Mudhaffer behind me with his troops and his forces." So they asked: "Then what is your opinion?" His answer was: "I see no other course than to stand firm and fight, for this is a decisive day." He then called the people of 'Ufuq and said to them: "Tell me, where is the strategical position of your district?" And they answered him: "If you hold fast by this mound, you need fear nothing." So he said, "I will hold the mound"; and he ordered the 'Imám to remain in the castle, so that should a defeat be suffered he would be far from the fray.

f. 107<sup>a</sup> Now turn we to consider the action of the Sultan. When he pitched his camp in Dhemár there joined him the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bíte, who said unto him: "O our lord the Sultan, to-day is Friday, and these Arabs do not hold their worship to be valid unless it be after the 'Imám. If, then, 131<sup>r</sup> our lord the Sultan delay to attack them until after the Friday congregational worship, there will collect unto them an innumerable array, and their fighting will be all the more obstinate." But the Sultan answered him: "Leave them alone; for verily we do not desire bloodshed on a Friday's congregation day. And in whatever state they may be they will be defeated." But the Sha'bíte would not accept this answer from him, but arose, left him, and assembled his forces, who took up their weapons and made their way past the door of the tent of the Sultan. The Sultan sent to him to stop, but he would not. So he continued his march toward them with his forces. The Sultan then bestirred himself, gave orders for his troops to mount, and advanced towards 'Ufuq.<sup>737</sup>

'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bíte now pressed forward, threatening the mound on which was the 'Emír Dáwúd son of the 'Imám. The troops then advanced, following one another in succession. Lastly appeared the Sultan upon the Black Mountain<sup>738</sup> in

a body of his troops and forces, so that it was as if the mountain were enveloped in white raiment which covered the whole of it on all sides. And when the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín attacked the mound with his forces the Sherífs were routed, and the troops gathered in an enormous booty. The 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám escaped, as did all the family of Ḥamza, after severe suffering.

The divinely aided troops surrounded next the 'Imám in the castle, making him prisoner, and killing a number of those who were with him. Amongst these were the 'Emír 'Aḥmed son of Muḥammed son of Ḥátim, and the Wezír of the 'Imám, the Judge 'Ibnu 'Ebi'n-Nejm. The Sherífs were crushed in those valleys; they abandoned their camp and everything in it; they dismounted from their horses, leaving these standing and fretting in halters. The troops brought the 'Imám and other prisoners to the Sultan. 119<sup>a</sup>

And when the 'Imám came before the Sultan bareheaded, he saluted and offered congratulations on the victory. The Sultan, too, congratulated him on his safety, receiving him with honour and cordiality. He also commanded to cover his head. A number of the slave-guards had begun to crowd round him, but the Sultan rebuked and reprimanded them. He gave him a she-mule to ride on, and used to journey between him and the Intimate<sup>739</sup> Bahá'u'd-Dín until he came with him to the castle of Ta'izz, when he consigned him to the house of detention. Here he was unceasingly treated with honour and respect, every day there being assigned to him ten royal ducats, food morning and evening, with clothing for himself and for those with him, concubines and servants, in all sufficiency. f. 107<sup>b</sup>

It was a saying of his: "In the Sultan's peace there has arisen for us an ability to do without waging war on him." He also wrote over the door of his suite of rooms:

*"These are the alighting-places of generous chieftains, the station  
of a comprehensive munificence and security;"* 119<sup>b</sup>

*The two pavilions of Khawernaq<sup>740</sup> and Sedīr<sup>741</sup> fall short thereof, as also that of Dhu'sh-Shurufāt<sup>742</sup> of (the) Sindād (palace)."*

He ceased not to live in his apartment with every attention and respect until he died at the date that will be specified, God so willing, who be exalted.

(f. 108<sup>a, b</sup>) And when the 'Imám 'Ibráhīm was captured, the Sherífs  
f. 109<sup>a</sup> wished to set up the son of Wehhás as 'Imám after him, but he disapproved. Then, when the Sultan returned from Dhemár, he assisted 'Alemu'd-Dín with large sums of money, who marched to Şan'á'.

f. 109<sup>b</sup> And on the day of their defeat the road taken by the Sherífs was that of the Ma'ázib<sup>743</sup> tribe, where great losses befell them, and they journeyed to the castle of Redmán,<sup>744</sup> known by the name of the Khawwáliyyún, which was in the possession of the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh. There they sojourned awhile, and the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín entered into correspondence with the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yaḥyá, to invite him to the 'Imámship. When he joined him he constrained him to assume the office, and he therefore proclaimed himself, inviting adherents, upon which the whole of the Zeydiyya sectaries gave in their assent. So the Sherífs remained awhile in the country of the Benú Shiháb without any rule.

Consequently upon this, correspondence was opened between  
111 the Sultan and the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín, which resulted in a peace between the two. So the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín turned out the 'Imám Muṭahher and the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, with the idea that they should hold the castles and do battle therein. The 'Emír 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh therefore used to pass from castle to castle, being sometimes in Kewkebán, (f. 110<sup>a</sup>) sometimes in Redmán, and at others in Qáhir<sup>745</sup> or in 'Azzán.

f. 110<sup>b</sup> And in the year A.H. 675 (A.D. 1276-7) the Sultan received possession of the castle of Reshsha<sup>746</sup> in the month of Dhú'l-Hijja.

In the year A.H. 676 (A.D. 1277-8) the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bīte pitched his camp against the castles of Ḥaḍúr,

viz. Qáhir and 'Azzán. The Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh asked for aid from the Sherífs, but not one of them gave him succour, save the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yaḥyá, who raised a large force and advanced against the Sha'bíte in his camp. He was at Ra'lá' <sup>747</sup> and his troops arrived at Qáhir, but they were unable to attack 'Alema'd-Dín in the camp.

And when they saw that their affairs were declining, the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh asked for an interview with the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Hátim, and talked over with him the question of peace. The 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín said: "Obtain ye for me from our lord the Sultan a hundred thousand ducats, and give me a hostage from among you for the delivery of the money." And they ceased not until they agreed upon the payment of two thousand ducats, the evacuation of the castles, and their surrender. So the matter was settled on those terms, and the heralds proclaimed an amnesty for them, on which they surrendered the whole of the castles of Hlaḍúr. In the month of Ramaḍán the Sultan was put in possession of the castle of Redmán, from which went forth such of the Sherífs as were in it. The Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh returned to Dháhir, and the 'Imám to the Ma'ázib.

19v  
f. 111a

(f. 111b;  
f. 112a, b)  
f. 113a

In the year A.H. 677 (A.D. 1278-9) died the most noble and great 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the great 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of the most noble and great 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Resúl the Ghassánite. He was one of the most perfect of the sons of Resúl, in religion, bravery, munificence, and elevation of views. He was a mighty and strenuous hero, whose prowess became a proverb. He used to grasp an iron stirrup and crush its parts together. He it was who threw an iron mace at the crescent that was on the minaret of Ṣan'á', and caused it to fall down from where it was fixed. He was noble and generous. Seldom did a man have recourse to him without his granting his request, and lavishly bestowing his gift and bounty. Among his religious foundations are the college of his that stands in the city of 'Ibb, his college that is in Ḥabbáliyy, <sup>748</sup> in which is his grave

113<sup>a</sup> and the graves of a number of his issue. He also built a dam in the village of Qirfa,<sup>749</sup> and he assigned in mortmain for the whole liberal estates sufficient to maintain all. And when (his cousin) the son of his paternal uncle, the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, put him in confinement, he occupied himself with the science of Qur'anic recitation, inviting jurists to his place, to whom he would recite and on whom he would bestow bounty, especially the jurist 'Aḥmed son of 'Aliyy the Surdudite, who was then the chief Traditionist in the city of Ta'izz. Under him he studied a number of the traditions reported, and transcribed a quantity of books, codexes, and prefaces, giving them in perpetual trust to many an institution. He ceased not to follow this goodly course until he died on the 13th of Dhú'l-Hijja of this year (about 1st May, 1279); may God's mercy be on him. He left a numerous posterity, and his children are among the best of the 'Emírs. The most excellent of his sons was 'Ebú Bekr, who was perfect, wise, learned, and a good poet, a specimen of his verse being the following two distichs from a long poem that he wrote to his father, then in prison. God's mercy be on both.

*"Were I not to share with thee thy joy and woe; were I not to feel each transport thou feelest;*

*Were I not to pass the whole of the long night sleeplessly; then should I not be thy child, nor thou my father."*<sup>750</sup>

114<sup>a</sup> And in that same year A.H. 677 died the eminent jurist 'Ebú Bekr son of Yúsuf of Mekka the Ḥanefite, of whom Jenediyy has said: "Credible persons from among his associates have informed me that he said to them one day a short time before his death: 'I had a vision, which was as though the day of resurrection had set in, and the (four) 'Imáms (of orthodox 'Islám) were made to be present before God, who be exalted. They are 'Ebú Ḥanfá, Málik, esh-Sháfi'yy, and 'Aḥmed son of Ḥanbel. And the Creator said unto them, whose majesty be extolled: "Verily, I sent unto you one apostle with one law,

and you have turned it into four. Restore ye it." And this He repeated to them thrice, but no one answered Him. Then said unto Him 'Aḥmed son of Ḥanbel: "O my Lord God, Thou hast spoken, and Thy word is the truth; none speak, save whomsoever the Merciful granteth leave to, and who speaketh aright." Then He said unto him: "Speak." On this he answered: "O my Lord God, who are Thy witnesses against us?" He replied: "The angels." He remarked: "O my Lord God, we have for us a valid objection against them, which is, that verily Thou hast said, and Thy word is the truth: 'And when thy Lord God said unto the angels, "Verily, I am about to place in the earth a substitute," they said: "Wilt Thou place therein one who will do wrong therein and will shed blood?"' Thus they bore witness against us before our existence." Then answered the Creator: "Your skins will bear witness against you." To which he replied: "O my Lord God, our skins used not to speak on earth, and they will speak this day under constraint; whereas the witness borne by one under constraint is not valid." Then said the Creator, whose majesty be extolled: "I will bear witness against you." But he replied: "O my Lord God, both judge and witness?" On which God said, who be exalted: "Get ye gone, for I have pardoned you."<sup>751</sup>

Again, when it was the 17th of the month of the latter Rebl' (about 10th September, 1278), a certain one of the godly in the city of Zebld saw in a vision that the minaret of the mosque of the 'Esh'ariyy tribe had moved from its place to a degree that it had got out from among the graves, and then disappeared among them. Our jurist died subsequently to this, the people went forth to his burial, and then the dreamer saw that the jurist was buried in the spot where the minaret had disappeared. He knew thence that it had been a symbol of the jurist, on whom be God's mercy.<sup>752</sup>

(f. 114<sup>b</sup>)

In the year A.H. 678 (A.D. 1279-80) occurred the conquest of the city of Dhafár of the Ḥabúḍite,<sup>753</sup> when the lord thereof, Sálím son of 'Idrís, was slain, and about three hundred men

f. 115<sup>a</sup>

with him, while a great number of people were made captives. The cause of this was the outbreak of a great famine and general scarcity that befell the land of Ḥaḍramawt,<sup>754</sup> the lord of which had recourse to Sálím son of 'Idrís, seeking from him the where-withal to assuage the sufferings of that year with them. They surrendered to him the fortresses of Ḥaḍramawt, holding this to be seemly in respect of him, and acting therein of their own inclinations towards him. So he complied with their request, and went forth with them to Ḥaḍramawt for the completion of what had already been commenced with. This was an under-taking in him for which there had been no precedent in the days  
 f. 111 of any one of his ancestors, but he did not know their cunning and their deceit.

So when they had received from him the whole of that which they had sought, they delivered to him the fortresses, which he took over and then returned to Dhaḥfár, imagining that he had made a good bargain and been successful; also, that Ḥaḍramawt would be in his possession and keeping. But when he returned to Dhaḥfár the people of Ḥaḍramawt inclined with one sole inclination to their fortresses, which they took possession of with or without consent given, there being no obstacle interposing between them and the fortresses. So he was left without his property and without the country. He was nearly killed with his regret for having wasted his goods to no purpose.

Now it happened, through an inevitable dispensation of providence, that our lord the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, on whom be God's mercy, appointed an envoy to the princes of Persia,<sup>755</sup> conveying magnificent presents; and a number of merchants accompanied him. The wind drove them out of their course and cast them on the coast of Dhaḥfár, where Sálím son of 'Idrís seized them and took possession of all they had with them, presents, money, and merchandize, his greedy soul suggesting  
 f. 115<sup>b</sup> to him that this was a compensation for what had slipped out of his fingers in Ḥaḍramawt.

The Sultan sent a messenger to him on this account, and wrote to him, saying: "The custom with thy family has never

been in this wise, and we acquit thee of highway robbery, while thou knowest the relations current between us and thy father, as between us and thyself; also the written communications that have passed between us; besides our regulating our conduct by the maxims of the noble Qur'an, wherein God hath said: 'And We are not of those who inflict castigation before We despatch a messenger.'"<sup>756</sup> But he increased in obduracy and folly, so that an answer came back in which he said: "The messenger is come, but where is the castigation?" and other similar pieces of insolence.

After this there was nothing for him to do but to suborn the lord of Shahr,<sup>757</sup> Ráshid son of Shej'a, whom he incited to rebel, and who inclined to him from a desire to escape payment of the tribute due from him to the lord of Yemen. That tribute was of a fixed amount, payable yearly to the state treasury. His death occurred through his vicious purpose.

*"And the decision of every matter is with a strenuous Lord God.  
He failed not of success, save that he strove  
And flinched, whereas the arrows were sent, which swerve from  
him who moves aside to him whom they transfix."*

Immediately after this orders were issued to the governor of 'Aden, the 'Emír Shihábu'd-Dín Gházi son of the Architect, to advance to the coast of Dhafár with the galleys and the foot-soldiers. So he arrived at Dhafár; but there was no effective battle, and he then returned to the fortified city of 'Aden. And when the son of the Architect came back from Dhafár, Sálím son of 'Idrís put to sea, and his presumption suggested to him to carry pillage to the coasts of 'Aden, which was not disapproved of by the lord of Shahr. So his pillaging excursion by sea reached to the coast of 'Aden, the Sultan being then in Jened.

The populations were disgusted with this action on the part of Sálím son of 'Idrís, since the lord of India, or of China, or the princes of Persia, had never ventured on the like thereof.



And the Sultan blazed up with rage, his commands going forth for the construction of galleys, ships, and barges, as well as other kinds of naval transports. The august Court, too, advanced to the fortified frontier place of 'Aden. He expended gold and silver in quantity greater than the number of the pebbles, fitting out his 'Emírs, his captains, his divinely aided forces of cavalry and foot, so that he filled the land and the sea with horsemen and infantry, as well as munitions.

The expedition advanced in three divisions.<sup>758</sup> One division went by sea, being the bulk of the foot-soldiers. Of them was the Sheykh Fáris son of 'Ebú'l-Ma'áli the Jezá'irite, the Sheykh Muḥammed son of Muḥammed son of Náji, the Sheykh Humám son of 'Aliyy son of Ghawwáš the Melíkite, Shemsu'd-Dín son of Mekbús, the Sheykh Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy the Medhḥijite, who had the greatest array of them all. The commander over the sea was the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Sunqur the Turunjulite, captain of the naval slave-guards.

f. 116<sup>a</sup> The second division marched with the Sheykh Bedru'd-Dín son of 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Amr son of Jened. These were the Arabs, and were three hundred horsemen. They marched by way of Ḥaḍramawt, forcing their way over the necks of the inhabitants, as it was full of the castles of the Benú'l-Ḥabúdiyy <sup>759</sup> and their confederates. There were not in that quarter any confederates of the Sultan, except 'Ebú Shemákh and Sheykh 'Amr son of 'Aliyy son of Mes'úd, in whom also there was a bias towards the cause of the Benú'l-Ḥabúdiyy.

f. 116<sup>b</sup> Thus saith the author of "The Necklace of Great Price" ('el-Iqdu'th-Themín): "The information reached me that the Sheykh Bedru'd-Dín and his comrades never severed themselves from doing battle one single night until they had traversed Ḥaḍramawt; and his comrades ceased not to lag behind away from him until he reached Dhaḥfár of the Ḥabúḍite with one hundred horsemen and thirteen on foot after five months from the day on which they marched from Ṣan'á." <sup>760</sup>

The third division marched by way of the sea-coast. They were four hundred horsemen of the maritime slave-guards and

the body-guard of the Sultan. The commander of the slave-guards was the 'Emír Ḥusámu'd-Dín Lu'lu' the Tewrizite, who was the Sultan's standard-bearer. The captain of the body-guard was the 'Emír 'Ebú Fírúz, and the commander-in-chief of the whole was the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Er-Demir, the marshal of the household, to whom the Sultan said: "Thou wilt kill Sálím, if God so will, who be exalted; for verily I saw, in what the sleeper witnesses, an immense snake come out of a chink, and I said unto thee, 'Kill it, O 'Er-Demir,' and thou didst kill it and didst return unto thy station."<sup>761</sup> f. 10

And the path of the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín was difficult and steep, for it lay over the summits of mountains, and over mountains of hills of sand. Therefore did he and those with him march in the slowest pace, while the ships in the sea sailed abreast of them. When the road led them to a distance from the coast, they suffered hardship and privations until a turn of the road brought them back to the coast. Then they had comfort, because they obtained from the ships whatever they wished for, whether corn, or dates, or any kind of pulse or culinary necessities; as also every species of weapon, whether spears, or swords, coats of mail, helmets, or buff-coats, bows, arrows, shields, slings, horse-shoes, bridles, and every kind of furniture according to their several requirements; such as six catapults, with all their equipment, gear, legs, and stone projectiles.<sup>762</sup>

Saith the above-mentioned author: "It was communicated to me that there was lost overboard, sinking in the sea, a thousand packages, each package consisting of the largest size sack, with every kind of store, without the loss being felt. Then there were markets held continuously at sea, the same as the very largest fairs in cities; and there were to be found all manner of cooks, bakers, and artizans.<sup>763</sup> So each division ceased not to journey as well as it was possible for them to advance, until God brought them all together in one day above the port of Reysút."<sup>764</sup> This is what is narrated by the author of the "Necklace of Great Price." f. 117<sup>a</sup>  
f. 11

Then the naval transports advanced,<sup>765</sup> such as galleys, preceded by smacks and hoys, as though they were eagles. Next the barges advanced, which are large ships, having in front of them other vessels, so that they resembled certain princes, swords being drawn, flags hoisted, and bands playing strepitously. And in that barge was the public treasure, amounting to four hundred thousand ducats, while of stuffs, such as bunduqiyy,<sup>766</sup> súsiyy,<sup>767</sup> mewšiliyy,<sup>768</sup> zebidiyy,<sup>769</sup> there was a quantity that could not be told. Unto God to recompense such a prince! His levies had filled the land and the sea; his gifts and his protection had extended over the Arabian and the non-Arabian,<sup>770</sup> and, by God, verily he was worthy of what 'Amr son of Kulthúm<sup>771</sup> said when he sang:

*"We have filled the land until it is too narrow for us; and we fill the surface of the ocean with ships."*

And when the divinely aided forces were assembled at the port of Reysút, the cavalry was of five hundred horsemen, and the infantry of seven thousand foot, who said to one another:

f. 117<sup>b</sup> "Ye have seen already what we have done in spending money and courting dangers; to hold back now would be in us incapacity and abjectness; nothing remains, then, but firmness and perseverance." So they marched until they reached 'Awqad,<sup>772</sup> one of the villages of Dhafár. There a false rumour was whispered among them that the cavalry of Ḥaḍramawt were arrived at Dhafár, as also the cavalry of Baḥreyn. So they counselled together and said: "Verily they are come against us to do battle, and for no other purpose." It never occurred to their imaginations that Sálím son of 'Idrís would come out to them in the open. But while they were in this state of mind, lo, the forces of Dhafár advanced against them, having for their leader Sálím son of 'Idrís. So, when the divinely aided troops saw them, they armed themselves to encounter him. Then he drew up in line of battle to meet them at a distance from the city, and they formed in line against him.

The Sheykh Bedru'd-Dín son of 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Amr son of Jened, with his comrades, was in the left wing, while the body-guard was in the right wing, and the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Er-Demir was in the centre. And nothing could be more expeditious than their joining battle with one charge, in which the Mudhafferian forces made a single rush and threw from their saddles about fifty horsemen. And then ensued the rout, none of the men of Dhafár escaping, except those who were made prisoners. There were killed of them something like three hundred slain, while about eight hundred were taken and made captive. Of the slaves there were captured as many as God willed. Sálím the son of 'Idrís was included among the slain, though no one was known to have been his slayer. <sup>773</sup> f. 118

The mass of troops then made for the gate of Dhafár. The 'Emír Shihábu d-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Er-Demir had been left by his father in the camp; and news came from him to his father and the other 'Emírs in the course of the night, as they were assembled at the gate of the city, telling them that the head of Sálím son of 'Idrís was in his charge. It is said: "Yes, his brother Músá first recognized his copy of the Qur'án and his whip, saying: 'This is my brother's Qur'án; and I cannot imagine my brother otherwise than slain.'" So they sought him, and found him killed. Then they took him up and buried him, after they had cut off his head.

This encounter took place on Saturday, 27th of Rejeb, 677 (about 21st December, 1278). The people of Dhafár asked for an amnesty, which was granted to them by the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Er-Demir. The august Mudhafferian ensigns entered the city of Dhafár on Sunday, 28th Rejeb, when a general pardon was accorded to the whole of the inhabitants, and nothing was taken from any one of them. The preachers offered up prayers in the pulpits of Dhafár on Friday, 3rd Sha'bán (27th December), in the august Mudhafferian name and titles. f. 118a

And the forces of the Sultan took possession of the city of Shibám <sup>774</sup> in the Ḥaḍramawt territory on the 8th day of Ramaḍán (about 20th January, 1279). And on the 26th of f. 119

that month (about 7th February) the whole of the members of the Ḥabūḍiyy family (Benú'l-Ḥabūḍiyy) were taken from the palace of Dḥafár by the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Er-Demir, and sent to the court of the Sultan, who ordered their removal to Zebíd. There they ceased not to live by the royal alms until the last of them came to his end, so that in these our days of the present time not one of them is left.<sup>775</sup>

And when the Sultan, may God have mercy on him, conquered the city of Dḥafár at the date specified, as we have narrated, and Sálím son of 'Idrís was killed, the whole of the Qaṣiyya <sup>776</sup> regions trembled through awe of the Sultan, while the hearts of the Princes of Persia, as of the lords of India and China, were filled with fear of him, from what they witnessed of his soaring ambition and his great power of retaliation. So the lord of 'Umán sent with his present two horses and a pair of golden eagles to the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Er-Demir, who was then at Dḥafár. There came also the presents of the lord of China. The lord of Baḥreyn came himself to Zebíd.

And the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Er-Demir appointed in Dḥafár a deputy governor, the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Sunqur the Turunjulite, with whom he placed also Ḥusám the Tewrízite and also a number of the Sheykh's of the Arabs and of the captains of the foot-soldiers, after which he returned to Yemen.

And when Dḥafár was captured, as we have narrated, Ḥaḍramawt became submissive, and the Sultan appointed as its 'Emír Muḥammed son of Muḥammed son of Náji, who resided there a certain space, returning then to Ta'izz. And it was asked of him: "How didst thou manage the people of Ḥaḍramawt?" He answered: "When I alighted at Shibám, a man named the Yemenite gave me trouble, who was the most powerful of them in infantry. He collected a large force to do battle with me, and I also drew together troops to combat him; then I procrastinated in my tactics until he had expended everything he had with him in money and kind, so that he had nothing left to him, whereas I had had recourse

21\*  
(ff. 118<sup>b</sup>;  
119<sup>a</sup>)  
f. 119<sup>b</sup>

to our lord the Sultan. And when he found nothing more to expend on those who were with him, he came to me himself. When he had made his camel kneel down at my house-gate, and the usher came to ask permission, I told him to let him come to me. When he entered where I was, he said to me: 'Know thou that verily I, when I resolved to come forth unto thee, called as witnesses a number of members of my household to testify that I am under the safeguard of the son of Resûl, and under thy safeguard, O Muḥammed.'" Then he continued: "I said to him: 'And they are both granted unto thee.' I then treated him with honour and showed kindness to him, placing him in an office that would maintain him. So he returned to his folk in good plight. Four clans did I deal with after that fashion, confronting them until they delivered themselves to me. After this no one raised his head against me of all the people of Ḥaḍramawt." <sup>777</sup>

f. 11

(f. 120<sup>b</sup>)f. 121<sup>a</sup>

And in the year A.H. 679 (A.D. 1280-1) took place public rejoicings by the Court; and the Sultan, on whom God have mercy, invited the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Sinjer the Sha'bite to the capital city Zebîd. He also invited the whole of the Sherîfs of the house of Ḥamza to the sacred court; but none of them came, save the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥasan son of Ḥamza and the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám Maṣṣûr 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza. The 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwûd son of the 'Imám offered excuses, as did the rest of the Sherîfs. The 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín and the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín ceased not their visit to the sacred court on account of the rejoicings, as we narrated, and in consequence the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwûd seized upon their two castles. Unto 'Izzu'd-Dín belonged Ta'izz of Şa'da.<sup>778</sup> Therefore, the Intimate Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Es'ad the 'Imránite went up as judge to try the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwûd, and he encamped at Jenáb (with letter *n*), the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín being in Maşna'a,<sup>779</sup> the mountain that overhangs it. And on the third and fourth (days) the two had meetings, the 'Emír

'Alemu'd-Dín being in Şan'á', but nothing was settled between them. And the Intimate saw in them a disposition to procrastinate, and their reliance on the multitude of their forces, as well as on their unworthy acts, which angered him. So  
 111<sup>r</sup> he wrote to the Sultan informing him thereof. And the answer of the Sultan came to say: "If they will not keep within what they have covenanted, then do thou cast the treaty in their faces, and announce to them the rupture of the peace." But the Intimate demurred as to the rupture, in the hope of their relenting. So he came back to Yemen.

And in this year A.H. 679 (A.D. 1280-1) the Sultan recovered the fortress of Kewkebán from the Khawwáliyyún for the castle of Redmán and twenty-two thousand ducats.<sup>780</sup>

f. 121<sup>b</sup> In the year A.H. 680 (A.D. 1281-2) the rupture took place between the Sultan and the Sherífs. Then the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh and the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed went down to the august court, and left it not until their affairs were decided on, namely, the surrender of their two castles, Míqá',<sup>781</sup> and Ta'izz of Şa'da.<sup>782</sup> They were both taken possession of by agents of the Sultan in  
 (ff. 122<sup>a</sup>-124<sup>a</sup>) Muḥarrem, the first month of the year 681 (April, 1282).

f. 124<sup>b</sup> And in this latter year, A.H. 681, the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh went up, and the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bíte went forth with an array, the two marching together to the Dháhír country, where the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bíte encamped over against Kewla,<sup>783</sup> and began to restore it, the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín being with him, while the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh encamped against the castle of Kuḥl and the summit (Dhirwa) of Upper Dháhír, both of which he captured in the shortest space. The 'Emír  
 111<sup>r</sup> 'Alemu'd-Dín returned to his camp, having already appointed lieutenants in Dakḥṣa,<sup>784</sup> Ḥubsán,<sup>785</sup> and Dhirwa,<sup>786</sup> with full complements of troops. He next appointed the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh to Kewla, with a hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen, assigning to him the command over all the garrisons. He and the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín then went down

towards Suwána.<sup>787</sup> The 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín did not remove his camp from Kewla until after a year, when the affairs of the garrisons were put in order over the upper section of the Dháhír country. He then moved to the lower section, and encamped in Suwána, he and the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín. And he repaired the covered way of Suwána, which he supplied with stores, and in which he stationed the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín over the lower section.<sup>788</sup>

And in this year A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282-3) died the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Alıyy son of Yaḥyá the 'Ansıte,<sup>789</sup> so called from his relation to the 'Ans clan of the tribe of Medh-ḥij (written with letter *u*), a great clan among the clans of the Medh ḥij tribe. He had been held in great esteem by the Sultan Núru'd-Dín, who gave him a military band and assigned to him rich fiefs. The Sultan Núru'd-Dín was the son of his paternal aunt, though some said the son of his sister. He ceased not to be esteemed and honoured until (Melik) Manşúr died and Melik Mudḥaffer was established as sovereign. He then went over to the party of the sons of his uncle 'Esedu'd-Dín and his brother Fakhrü'd-Dín; and when Mudḥaffer seized Fakhrü'd-Dín and imprisoned him, as we have narrated, he wrote to 'Esedu'd-Dín, instigating him to rise and endeavour to release his brother from his prison, saying :

f. 125\*

f. 11\*

*"Hadst thou known, O Muhammed, that which has happened,  
thou hadst sent them forth scurrying, their forelocks dis-  
hevelled, themselves worn lean with hard travel,  
Fine-couted, which thou mightest see drinking with their reins  
on, as they cleave the deserts and the wilderness in their  
course ;  
That thou mightest smite with them the double ramparts of  
Ta'izz without their being shod, so that thou mightest  
allege an excuse or confirm the family renown."*

To which the son of Da'ás answered in verses still more beautiful, of which I will only give one specimen distich :



*"Look thou at 'Aden, which has submitted to his command; to Ta'izz, and to Mekka, the 'Mother of Cities.'"*

f. 125<sup>b</sup> And when the poem of 'Aliyy son of Yahyá came to the knowledge of the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer he took no notice of it, and confirmed him in the condition in which (Melik) Mansúr had left him at his death. But in his mind he had a grand project. For when the year A.H. 658 (A.D. 1259-60) had come, and 'Esedu'd-Dín had become wearied by reason of his long resistance against the son of his paternal uncle, fearing also from the Arabians either to be murdered or made prisoner, so that he sent to the Sultan, craving for peace, the Sultan then sent for the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Yahyá, and despatched him to 'Esedu'd-Dín to negotiate a peace between him and the Sultan. So he went up to him as envoy for the purpose of that peace, and the two came down together, r10 the Sultan being then at Zebíd. When, therefore, the two arrived at Zebíd, he had a place vacated for them both in the palace, where the two took up their quarters. Then he issued orders for both of them to be seized in the latter part of that very same day; whereupon they were both seized and fettered. He sent them both to the fortress of Ta'izz, and they departed not forth from the prison until they both died. God's mercy on them both!

f. 126<sup>a</sup> And in that year also, A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282-3), died the righteous jurist 'Abdu'lláh son of Muḥammed son of 'Aliyy son of 'Ismá'il son of 'Aliyy the Ḥaḍramawtite, celebrated for his miracles. One of the strangest of these is thus related: "He was passing by the gate of the Sultan at Zebíd while the full band was playing. It was a custom that no one should dare to pass by that place riding or on foot while it continued to play. But the jurist rode by without anyone saying a word to him. Those present were surprised at this."<sup>790</sup>

And in the year A.H. 682 (A.D. 1283-4) the palace at Ṣan'á' fell down on the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Sinjer the Sha'bite, who was killed, with a number of those who were with him, beneath the ruins.<sup>791</sup>

The author of "The Necklace" ('Iqd) relates in his book, saying: "I was one of those present on that day in the room with the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín. I went in to him that day, and his room was in a throng with people. And his breakfast was brought in, of which the people ate with him. Their affairs being settled, they went forth, and there were none left in the room save the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín, his brother-in-law Muḥammed son of Yezíd, two young slave-boys belonging to the 'Emír 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Ammár, the 'Emír's secretary, the canon law judge 'Umer son of Sa'íd, I, and my brother 'Aliyy son of Hátim. We remained until the mu'ezzin announced the time for afternoon worship. The 'Emír arose and performed his devotions. He then returned to us and next said to his slave-boy: 'Bring water for the assembly to perform worship.' So we cleansed ourselves and went through our devotions, after which we returned to what we were conversing about. We were aware of nothing until there came in upon us a cloud of dust through the lattice nearest to the 'Emír, of whom someone asked: 'What is the cause of this dust?' There was then scattered over us dust and earth from the ceiling. We now attempted to get out; but the lower floor fell away from under us before the ceiling gave way. This was the last time that some of us were together. The downfall took place in the first part of the latter afternoon, and we remained beneath the ruins until the time of sunset. I recited what I knew by heart of the Qur'án, and I prayed with what I could manage to call to mind of prayer, and I humbly offered supplication unto God. No other thought remained in my mind save that of death. I was only aware of shovels (at work) over my head, the sound of which drew near by slow degrees, until some people cleared away the rubbish from my head and face, when I invoked God, who be extolled. They then asked me as to my condition, and I answered: 'Please God, who be extolled, I am well.' They next asked me about the 'Emír, and I said: 'He is near.' They then took me out, and dug for the 'Emír, whom they found dead, a large beam having fallen on his head. And the

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f. 127<sup>a</sup>

r14

digging was continued for the rest of the as-sembly, by which they extricated unhurt the judge 'Umer son of Sa'id, though the others all perished. They did not reach the last of them until the night was drawing to an end."

At this date, therefore, occurred the death of the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Sinjer the Sha'bite, who was a brave commander, an enterprising horseman, whose designs were elevated, and whose success was well known. His battles are generally known, celebrated, and talked of in Upper Yemen. He was religious, pious, and observant of the times of devotions, whether in the field or at home, in spite of the severity of the cold in the mountains; so much so, that he used to say: "No one performs his devotions in the camp, save the 'Emír." And it was that if the band of his drawers, or his drawers themselves, were laid upon a woman in difficult parturition, she would bring forth her child immediately. He was one of the slaves of Melik Mes'úd Yúsuf son of Melik Kámil the 'Eyyúbite. And he was named the Sha'bite because he was in the house of the slaves when young, and knew nothing of their libertinage or devilry; for  
 f. 127<sup>b</sup>  
 r. 1<sup>a</sup> which reason they used to call him Jethro (Shu'ayb), that is to say, that verily he was very patient, having no connection with anything of the actions of the slave-guards.

When this great calamity took place, the inhabitants became excited in Şan'á' and its dependent districts. Information thereof reached the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám, who collected his forces and the 'Esediyya slave-guards, having an idea of an attack on the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh. The camps were therefore removed from Dháhír. Then the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín Belebán, the private secretary of the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín the Sha'bite, set out from Şan'á' with a hundred horse and five hundred foot to Bewn; <sup>792</sup> and the spies of the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín came to him with intelligence thereof. On this he set out with his forces for the Lower Dháhír and avoided the Upper Dháhír. He next advanced to Jewb. <sup>793</sup> But when the troops equipped from Şan'á' reached the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín, he made an excursion against

the 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín at Jewb, and then returned to Dháhir. After this the camp of the 'Emír Fakhru'd-Dín son of Fírúz, with the troops of Yemen, went up to Šan'á', and the leaguer against Dháhir was protracted a whole year afterwards.

And in this year A.H. 682 (A.D. 1283-4) died the judge 'Ebú 'Abdi'llah MuḤammed son of 'Aliyy son of 'Ebú'l-Qásim the Riyáḥite, who was a judge with whom men were well pleased, who was extreme in his abstemiousness, in abstention from all prohibited and doubtful things, and in his moderation with respect to food and clothing. His original town was 'Ibb, where his father was judge. When his father's death was at hand, he cautioned his son MuḤammed against the office of judge. So when his father died, he himself took no heed of the office, in compliance with his father's injunction to him. On this there happened to him many a piece of tyranny and suffering. Then his mother said to him: "O my son, get thee unto Seyr,<sup>794</sup> and inform the Judge of Judges of the death of thy father and of what has come upon thee and upon thy brothers in the way of violence and tyranny; for peradventure he will put thee in the position of thy father, when thou wilt be screened from oppression." He now proceeded to the Judge of Judges,<sup>795</sup> and informed him of the death of his father, complaining also to him of what oppression had befallen him. The Judge wished God's. mercy on the father, offering condolence to the son for his loss, and appointing him to his father's office. He now returned to the town, living there as judge and acting so as to give general satisfaction. When the judge of Ta'izz, the son of 'Ebú'l-'A'azz, died, the Judge of Judges sent to our judge and appointed him to the judgeship of the city of Ta'izz, naming also his brother to the same office in the city of 'Ibb.

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f. 128<sup>a</sup>

The judge MuḤammed son of 'Aliyy was learned, acting according to precept, strict in the performance of devotional duties, abstinent from all things unlawful or doubtful, untiring in the service of the public, neither proud nor overbearing.

Thus says Jenediyy: "A trustworthy informant told me he had heard from a credible person that he had seen the judge

rr. Muḥammed son of 'Aliyy walking barefoot in the fierce noon heat of the day, his shoes in his hand, and going from the western district to the quarter of the poor in the city of Ta'izz." He said further: "I said to him: 'O my lord, why actest thou thus?' He answered: 'It has come to my knowledge respecting the Prophet, on whom be God's salutation and greeting, that he said: "Whosoever walks barefoot in the service of a brother Muslim shall have a great reward," or something to a like effect.'"<sup>796</sup>

f. 128<sup>b</sup> And it is related of him that he one day went forth barefoot and with his dress in disorder, when there met him one who knew him, who encountered him face to face, saluting, and who then walked after him, at an equal pace, to see where he was going to. And lo, he was going to the house of the treasurer of Melik Mudhaffer. And when he stopped at the door, the attendant went quickly to the 'Emír to inform him of the judge's coming. The 'Emír came forth in haste and kissed the judge's hand, saying to him: "O my lord, why art thou come; and why not send to me that I might come to thee?" The judge answered: "I am better entitled to the divine reward; but if thou wilt assist me, thou shalt share with me therein." Then said the 'Emír: "And what is it thou desirest, O my lord?" And he replied: "The children of So-and-so have come to me and have communicated that thou hast imprisoned their father in the yard for stores, whereas they are poor and in need. It has also reached my knowledge that the Prophet, on whom be God's salutation and greeting, hath said: 'Whosoever walks barefoot and bareheaded for a service to a brother Muslim, God will give him a very great reward'; and for this reason am I come." Then answered the 'Emír: "O rr1 my lord, he is imprisoned by the very command of the Sultan, and it is impossible to let him go forth, save after a reference." The 'Emír asked then for an inkstand and paper, when he wrote to the Sultan, informing him of the coming of the judge to him barefoot and bareheaded, and that he interceded for So-and-so, sending a messenger with the note. The answer

of the Sultan came back for the liberation of the man ; but the judge would not quit the house of the 'Emír, save with the man in his train. He was possessed of great credit and immense consideration with Mudhaffer on account of his piety and goodness.

Another of the things narrated of him is that a certain merchant, being near his death, requested the judge Muḥammed son of 'Aliyy to come to his house. When the judge was come to him in his house, he shut himself up with him in private, and said to him : " Verily I have built this place over my property to so great an amount that I can hardly tell the sum ; whereas, as thou seest, my children are infants, and there has come upon me that which thou witnessest. I cannot inform anyone of them, so I inform thee, in order that it may be a trust in thy charge." The judge said to him : " There is no harm in that." He then directed him to commit to some good man the trust of his declared estate. This the man did, and then died, leaving many children. These consumed what had been manifested to them of the estate left. They then wished to sell the house, by reason of the severity of their straits ; but the judge prohibited them. They remained then for a time in that condition, after which information was given to him of their competency. He waited patiently for a time, and then commissioned someone to make inquiries about them, who found them to have attained to years of discretion. This he reported to the judge, who then paid them a visit in their house. They rejoiced at this, and begged him to enter, so that they might be blessed with his presence. He then said to the eldest of them : " Open thou this place." So he opened it, and that treasure was made manifest. The judge then said to him : " This was a trust with me for thee from thy father, that thou mayest therewith procure what is necessary for thyself and for thy brethren according to what is right." The children then begged him to accept therefrom a portion for himself, which the children would esteem as a part of their share ; but he did not.

f. 129<sup>a</sup>

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It is related from the 'Emír Gházi son of Yúnus the Ta'izzite,

who said: "I was sitting at home in the days of my youth, when a summoner came to summon me before the judge. There came over me, thence, a great trepidation; but this passed off away from me, through what I knew of the equity of the judge and his upright conduct. So I went to him. When he saw me he smiled; and when I drew near to him I saluted him, and he returned my salutation with a radiant expression of countenance. Then he said to me: 'Had thy father any child other than thee?' I answered: 'No.' He now rose and entered his house, commanding me to enter after him. So I entered, and there was no one in the house. He went on in front of me until he came to the kitchen. When he had reached the middle, he went towards a certain spot and said to me: 'Open thou here.' So I opened, and there appeared unto me a vase, which I took forth, when he said to me: 'Open it.' And I found it full of gold. Then he said to me: 'Take thou this property and keep it for thyself, for it was a trust in my charge belonging to thy father, which I would not deliver to thee until after making inquiry concerning thee, and until I was informed that thou art discreet and of full age, thy father, too, having no other child than thee. And glory be to Him who hath vouchsafed unto me a discharge from my trust ere I die.'" The anecdotes relating to him are numerous and well known.

(f. 130<sup>a</sup>)f. 130<sup>b</sup>

And in the year A.H. 683 (A.D. 1284-5) Melik Wáthiq <sup>797</sup> ascended to Şan'á', endowed therewith as his fief, and entering it on the 22nd of the first Rebí' of the year (about 10th June, 1284). He received possession of the castle of Birásh of Şan'á', <sup>798</sup> and he seized upon the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Belebán the 'Alemite, the private secretary, from whom had proceeded acts calling for this.

And when distress befell the affairs of the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám, he proposed to the 'Imám Ḥasan son of Wehhás to rise in rebellion with him; but he returned a refusal to him. He then requested the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yahyá to do so; but he, too, returned a refusal. These

rebuffs arose from what they knew of his evil conduct towards the 'Imáms and of his opposition to them. He now turned towards the son of his own brother, 'Ibráhím son of the 'Imám 'Aḥmed son of 'Ibráhím son of the 'Imám, who had already studied a small matter in science, but was not perfect in the duties of the 'Imámate or of anything else. So he set him up as 'Imám and led him forth to Thulá. With him he cast a fascination over the vulgar, and with him he drew together a large array, with which he went forth to Dháhir. The Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh retreated before them to Mount Míqá,<sup>799</sup> as he had not with him a sufficient force to oppose them. So they fought against Kewla and Ḥabsán, but could not take either of them. They then went against Menqal<sup>800</sup> and Menára,<sup>801</sup> both of which they captured by assault, and then marched towards Şa'da.

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The 'Emír 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh now demanded succours and troops. So Melik Wáthiq detached to him Fehd son of Ḥátim with seventy horsemen of the tribe of Hemdán, and also the 'Emír Shihábu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Er-Demir with thirty horsemen and five hundred infantry. When these arrived at Kewla and joined the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, he stationed his own brothers and the family of Yahyá son of Ḥasan in Kewla, and marched with the divinely aided forces towards Şa'da. These troops were then about four hundred horsemen and a thousand foot, who went forward and entered Şa'da, the camp of the Sherífs being below Telínuş.<sup>802</sup> They kept their headquarters about two months, and several severe encounters took place, many horses being hamstrung on both sides.

f. 131<sup>a</sup>

Now the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín used to pay the horsemen, serve out food, and attend to all matters himself, patrolling the camp by night and by day. The Sultan, on whom may God have mercy, used to send him treasure and necessities for the troops before they became due, so that the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín became unable to resist him, and went forth in flight, consequently, to the mountain of the Benú 'Uweymir,<sup>803</sup> above the plain of

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'Addán,<sup>804</sup> and then to Shaṭib,<sup>805</sup> until he entered the country of the Sherif 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, traversing its breadth until he encamped in Jennát.<sup>806</sup>

And in this year A.H. 683 died the learned 'Imám 'Ibráhím son of 'Aḥmed son of Táju'd-Dín the Hedewite in the castle of Ta'izz as a prisoner. He was one of the celebrated men of valour and famous horsemen; he used to indite good poetry; and of his verse is a poem in which he describes his captivity and offers his apology:

*"A grave matter befell, and made me forget therewith all (other) serious affairs, making my heart turn into fragments within its entrails.*

f. 131<sup>b</sup>

*So much so that when there came from behind me, and from before me, troops, they bore away halves and segments.*

*And they seized the sword from behind me, to keep things as they were; and they seized the spear, and the fleet horse also.*

*And I was in a place difficult and narrow, in which I met with no space for the range of the eyesight.*

*Then I reached unto courts in which was a prince who dwells in an exalted palace of sublimity.*

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*And he showed generosity by pardon; for kindness is his characteristic, and he never ceases being an actor with grandeur and munificence."*

I have recorded of it merely what may indicate that which is therein.

His death took place in the month of the latter Rebí' of the year (June-July, 1284), and his grave is in the cemetery at Ta'izz, is well known, is piously visited, is deemed a source of blessings, and prayer is offered near it for men's wants. May God, who be exalted, have mercy on him.<sup>807</sup>

And in the same year there died also the 'Imám 'Ebú Muḥammed Ḥasan son of Wehhás the Ḥamzite in the month of Dhú'l-Ḥijja (February, 1285).<sup>808</sup>

(f. 132<sup>a, b</sup>)

f. 133<sup>a</sup>

And in the year A.H. 684 (A.D. 1285-6) our lord Melik Wáthiq

equipped a force against Menqab;<sup>809</sup> and he feared that the 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín would go forth from Thulá to the Shihábite (Benú Shiháb) districts. In consequence he besieged him in Thulá. Thereupon the Sheykh Bedru'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Amr son of Jened joined him, and exerted himself to effect a reconciliation between him and the Sultan. The camps were broken up, and the whole force returned to Šan'á'; peace being concluded upon the condition that the hostage of the 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd should be set at liberty, this being his son Muḥammed son of Dáwúd, who was in the fortress of Dumluwa, and also that the castle of Qufl<sup>810</sup> should be exchanged for Dhafár. On these terms was peace concluded, when safe-conduct and amity continued for a length of time.

And in the same year died the judge 'Ebú Ḥaṣṣ 'Umer son of Sa'íd son of Muḥammed son of 'Aliyy the Rebí'ite, who held the jurisdiction of Šan'á', and was one of the most eloquent of men and of the best of them in the relation of tradition<sup>811</sup> and the exegesis of the Qur'án. And it was that when he was present in an assembly, no one but himself would have a word to say. It is reported that what he had committed to memory was fifty thousand traditions. The Sultan Melik Mudhaffer used to honour and distinguish him. He gave him for his judgeship the tribute of the Jews of his district, so that his worldly wealth was very great.

Among the extraordinary events that befell him was the following. He was seated with the 'Emír the Sha'bite in the palace of the Sultan in Šan'á', at the time when the roof fell in upon them and the assembly, among whom were Muḥammed son of Ḥátim the Hemdánite, with his brother, and also Muḥammed son of Yezíd Bedr, brother-in-law of the Sha'bite. They all died under the ruins, except the judge spoken of, who escaped alive, and also Muḥammed son of Ḥátim. The judge used to recount that when the palace fell down he saw a man of great age pick up out of it a beam and a curtain, which he made into a roof over him, so that the ruins did not reach him.<sup>812</sup>

(f. 133<sup>b</sup>)f. 134<sup>a</sup>

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The judge was of great estimation, celebrated by repute, honoured by the great ones of his epoch. His excellencies were noised abroad to the east and west, far and near; and I know no one of his contemporaries who was equally famous with him. So much so, that I have seen a handsome volume on his qualities, a compilation of the jurist 'Aliyy son of 'Ebú Bekr the Qur'anic reciter, the Şan'á'ite. His diploma of investiture came from Baghdád, surmounted with the sacred Musta'şimite cipher, and containing, in expressions of consideration for his condition and of recognition of his worth, all that he truly merited.<sup>813</sup>

f. 135<sup>a</sup> And in the year A.H. 685 (A.D. 1286-7) sacred Mudhafferian dirhems were struck in the city of Şa'da,<sup>814</sup> in the month of the latter Jumádá (July-August, 1286). The 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh went down to the gates of the Sultan, where he was received by Melik Mes'úd and the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín, the Intimate, at Hawbán.<sup>815</sup> And he presented himself at once at an audience of the Sultan, remaining at court for some time, after which there was conferred on him a military band of five loads, together with five banners. And there came to visit him, with the door-keepers, Jeshib, Járúd, Maṭira, and Hışn-Dhífan.<sup>816</sup> And he composed a poem in which he eulogized the Sultan as he said :

*"And thou, O Yúsuf,<sup>817</sup> hast signified by banners that I am sincere, and that, when misfortune betides, I am a treasure in reserve.*

*And thou hast moved with drums what was quiet, though there was hardness of hearing therein from an audition of the excitement thereof."*

And in the same year A.H. 685 died the eminent jurist 'Ebú'l-Hasan 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed son of Hujr son of 'Ahmed son of 'Aliyy son of Hujr, the 'Ezdite by descent, the Hejerite by country, who was commonly known as 'Ebú Hujr, and who was domiciled at 'Aden. He was wealthy in worldly possessions,

and was scrupulous lest anything doubtful should become mixed with his property ; neither would he have any relation with anyone he suspected on this score. And he used not, in his sales, to hoard (coins) in hopes of a rise in prices.<sup>818</sup> Jenediyy hath said : " My father, Yúsuf son of Ya'qúb, on whom may God have mercy, informed me and said that there was a man in the city of Jened, a perfumer, originally from the city of 'Ibb, who exercised no leniency as to coins, taking only one in ten. Now it came to pass that a journey to 'Aden befell him, in order to purchase perfume. So he came to this jurist, and enquired of him for the commodities of which he was in want. The jurist told him that the whole was in stock. Upon this he handed to him a bag of money, which the jurist gave to one of his slaves, telling him to take and examine them. The man of 'Ibb remarked : 'There is no need to examine them, for there is not anyone in my town who hoards up money as I do.' On this the jurist asked of him : 'And dost thou then hoard up money?' He answered : 'Yes.' Then said the jurist : 'Give them back to him, and mix not his money among my cash.' So they were given back to him, and he went away frustrated."

And it was that everyone of eminence who came to 'Aden alighted for the most part solely at the house of the jurist, who used to lodge them in one of his rooms in proximity to himself. The people used also to assemble about him for recitation in the mosque (mesjid) of Semá', which was so named (*mesjidu's-semá'*)<sup>819</sup> from the great number of books that were there heard recited to those who came to it. The sum legally due as alms out of his property<sup>820</sup> yearly amounted to forty, or, it is said, to sixty thousand pieces of silver, which he gave away in charity for the greater portion of his days, until his charity was nearly exhausted. He ceased not to practise this until he died at the age of 88 years, in the night of Wednesday, 5th Safer, 685 (30th March, 1286), leaving two sons, Muḥammed and 'Abdu'lláh. As to Muḥammed, he studied jurisprudence, and his father betrothed him to the daughter of a certain merchant named

'Idrís the Saddler. He was given to a profuse munificence, unseemly in a young man. Never was disappointed one who had recourse to him. So his circumstances became shattered, and much debt weighed upon him after the death of his father. There came to him one of those to whom the debt was due, and importuned him, using gross expressions to him in what he said, letting him hear extravagant words. He was sitting at the door of his house, which he entered in haste, went purposely into a mountain, and there hung himself.<sup>821</sup> This was on a Friday, after some days had elapsed in Dhú'l-Qa'da of the same year (December, 1286). And one of the righteous men of the inhabitants of 'Aden of that epoch saw in a dream<sup>822</sup> that he was standing at the gate of the mosque which bears the name of 'Ebán's Mosque, when lo, there was a multitude that had advanced through the gate of 'Aden coming towards the city, majestic in appearance and with shining faces. The man enquired about them, and there was said unto him: "This is the Apostle of God, on whom be God's salutation and greeting, with a multitude of his Companions who are bound to the (funeral) service over a man of the inhabitants of the city who will die this morning."

٢٣١ - So when the morning was come on the man, and there happened to Muḥammed son of 'Ebú Ḥujr what did happen, while there died on that day no one but he, the man came to the place where burial services are performed over the dead. And he sat down there in expectation of the arrival of the aforementioned defunct one, that he might perform his devotions over him as one of the congregation. Said he: "Then there happened to me an emission, and I arose canonically unclean. And I had already reflected, and I said: 'It is inconceivable, in respect of such as this, that the Prophet, on whom be the salutation and greeting of God, should perform the funeral service over him, when he has hung himself.' Then I heard one speaking, who said to me: 'Separate thou not thyself from this funeral convoy, for this is the very man himself.' So I recalled my wandering thoughts, renewed my ablution, went to the

door of the house of the deceased, accompanied the funeral convoy, and was present at the funeral service, as also at the burial." f. 136<sup>b</sup>

Thus saith Jenediyy: "My tutor 'Aḥmed son of 'Aliyy, of Algiers, informed me that the jurist 'Ebú Ḥujr had several daughters, for the most part righteous. One of these narrated that she saw her father in a vision,<sup>823</sup> some time after the death of her brother, and said to him: 'O my father dear, what has happened to thee?' And he answered: 'Since thy brother joined us we have been constant in entreating God, who be exalted, that he would pardon him his offence against his own self; but He did not so until after a severe suffering and a near approach to despair for the same.'"

And in the year A.H. 686 (A.D. 1287-8) the 'Emír Ṣárimu'd-Dín Dáwúd son of the 'Imám devised a piece of craft for the recovery of his castle Qufl<sup>824</sup>; but he feared a failure therein, and so advanced to the canton of Ṣa'da, where he effected an arrangement with his brother's son the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Músá son of 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám. They then asked for assistance of the 'Imám Muṭahher, whom they incited to an expedition to the canton of Ṣa'da. So he went out from Derwán<sup>825</sup> to Ḥujr,<sup>826</sup> and collected great levies, with which he marched towards Ṣa'da. Khawlán joined him. He fought against Derb,<sup>827</sup> and took it by assault, putting to the sword the garrison that held it, about two hundred men, and taking prisoner the governor of Ghalláb. On the side of the 'Imám there were killed twenty (?) five archers. f. 137<sup>a</sup>

After this the 'Imám; and with him the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Músá son of 'Aḥmed, marched to Jewf,<sup>828</sup> where they took Fakhra<sup>829</sup> and Suwána, and then ascended Dḥáhir, where they devastated Kewla and Dakhṣa, camping them against Záhír.<sup>830</sup>

The 'Emír Ṣárimu'd-Dín son of the 'Imám flew at his castle Qufl, camping against it, and sending to our lord Melik Wáthiq a notification of the rupture of peace. Upon this Melik Wáthiq equipped two hundred horsemen, Ghuzz Kurds and Arabians, their captain being the Sheríf Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of the

'Abdu'lláh. He ordered them to ascend Dháhír; but its ascent was not practicable for them.

۲۳۳ The Sultan Melik Mudhaffer now sent forth his marshal, the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Humám, with a force of horse from Yemen, and commanded him to make excursions against Záhír. And when he reached Şan'a', Melik Wáthiq went forth with a store of necessities to Dhirwa, and detached the 'Emír 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'lláh, as also the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín the marshal, to raise the siege of Záhír. On the Sherífs becoming informed of their movement they raised their camp from Záhír. The 'Imám went up to Dháhír, and the siege of Qufl by the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín became more severe.

Melik Wáthiq returned to Şan'a', and rumours with disorders multiplied in the land. The country became perturbed with great agitation, matters assumed a serious aspect, with increase of trouble; the inhabitants of the east country, with those of the west country, revolted; and the whole land, from Naqíl<sup>831</sup> to Şa'da, was a prey to disorder.

f. ۱37<sup>b</sup> When these troubles arose the Sultan sent his son Melik 'Eshref<sup>832</sup> to Şan'a', to hold it as his fief, recalling his son Wáthiq. So Melik 'Eshref entered Şan'a' on the 8th of Jumádá the first, this year (about 20th June, 1287), and then left it for the camp at Dheyfán.<sup>833</sup> Afterwards he marched towards Dháhír, treading down the country with a violent trample, devastating the greater part of Upper Dháhír and of Lower Dháhír, until his divinely aided forces reached 'Anán and Khaywán,<sup>834</sup> nothing offering resistance to him in Dháhír, and none having reached where he reached to. He delivered battle ۲۳۵ from Qubba<sup>835</sup> several times, and ordered Kewla to be restored, placing in it as garrison the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh. The festival of the sacred month of Ramaḍán occurred while he was yet tented at Kewla; and it was a most beautiful and joyous festival.

And when Dháhír was laid waste as we have narrated, the 'Emír Şárimu'd-Dín being in Qubba, when he had reinforced

the garrisons against Dhafár,<sup>886</sup> and had placed the 'Emír 'Aliyy son of 'Abdulláh, with a hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen, in Kewla, he set out from Dháhír to the country of the 'Emír 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Wehhás,<sup>887</sup> which he devastated, cutting down its trees and its vineyards, demolishing also therein forts from the times of paganism.

He then moved from the country of the son of Wehhás to Šan'á'. And the troops went forth from Šan'á' to meet him, the levies also assembling, so that he had never seen a more marvellous or more joyous day, nor one with greater crowds, than this. He entered by the Gate of God's Aid (Bábu'n-Naşr);<sup>888</sup> and when he came opposite the royal pavilion, there were spread on the ground tapestries of silk worked with figures of gold, and there was scattered over the people, of white and yellow (gold and silver coins), what could not be told. He then remained in Šan'á', public affairs being tranquil, the frontiers protected, war against Qubba, siege against Dhafár, the 'Imám Muṭahher in Ten'um,<sup>889</sup> on Mount Ten'um, with no one joining him, and the 'Emír Šarimu'd-Dín besieged in Qubba.

And in the year A.H. 687 (A.D. 1288-9) there took place negotiations for peace, and the 'Emír Šarimu'd-Dín made peace after becoming master of Qufl, the criers proclaiming the same in the city of Šan'á' on Saturday, the 22nd of the former Jumádá in this year (about 21st June, 1288). Later on peace was concluded between the 'Imám and Melik 'Eshref, the criers proclaiming it on the tenth of the latter Jumádá (about 10th July). But he did not grant him peace on any condition as to countries, or as to subjects, except as to certain tribes of the righteous,<sup>840</sup> as the Benú Ḥayy, the Benú Sihám, the 'U'rúsh, and the Benú Muṭ'im.

He then went back to Yemen, his departure from Šan'á' taking place on Friday, 10th Rejeb, of the year (about 5th August, 1288); after which Melik Mu'eyyed<sup>841</sup> went up to Šan'á' to hold it as his fief. He entered it on the 14th of Dhú'l-Qa'da of the same year (about 10th December, 1288). When he had entered Šan'á', there joined him the whole

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f. 138\*



population of the Arabs, the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, and envoys of the Sherífs, all surrounded by an escort of horsemen. He remained a certain space in Şan'á, going forth afterwards to the cantons of Dhémár. The peace became precarious between him and the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yahyá.


f. 138<sup>b</sup> And in this year A.H. 687 died the eunuch 'Iftikháru'd-Dín  
 137<sup>1</sup> Yáqút son of 'Abdu'lláh the Mudhafferite. He was a prudent, intelligent, shrewd servant, and he it was whom the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer sent in company with his son Melik 'Eshref to Dumluwa, for Melik 'Eshref to be his hostage with his two uncles Mufaḍḍal and Fá'iz, together with the mother of them both, the daughter of Ḥawza. And when he was there, the eunuch managed matters and gained over the hearts of the garrison troops by word and deed, until he had made the thing sure. There then arose a circumstance that called for the descent of Fá'iz, Mufaḍḍal, and their mother, the daughter of Ḥawza, to Manşúra, or, as is said, to Juwwa. As soon as they were out of the castle the eunuch Yáqút, and they who were with him in the castle, rose up in arms and took possession of it for his lord Mudhaffer. And Yáqút ceased not to be the lieutenant of his lord in the castle until he died on the 30th of Dhu'l-Qa'da of this year (about 25th December, 1288). He was a man of violence and great haughtiness, but therewithal very charitable, showing much respect to the learned and virtuous. He built a college in Manşúra of Dumluwa. May God have mercy on him, who be extolled.

f. 139<sup>a</sup> In the year A.H. 688 (A.D. 1289-90) the garrison in the castle of Birásh mutinied in the month of Rejeb (July, 1289), and Melik Mu'eyyed marched against them, killed a number of them, and took it from them by assault.

139<sup>v</sup> And in this same year a party of the Jushem<sup>842</sup> tribe suddenly made an assault on the castle of Beyt 'En'um, with which the 'Imám was at peace. One of the conditions of the peace was that if it should appear that any tribe had transgressed on either side, and had shut themselves up for resistance in any castle or mountain, then verily are they adversaries of the

Sultan and of the 'Imám, and the Sultan with the 'Imám shall unite against whomsoever gives rise to such event, and shall support each other against him. Now, when there arose from those men that which eventuated, the Sultan gave orders for a camp to be pitched against the castle of Beyt 'En'um, and requested of the 'Imám the dispatch of someone on his part to camp against them. But the 'Imám did it not, and gave no facilities for anything of the sort.

And in this year A.H. 688 (A.D. 1289-90) died the eminent Sheykh 'Ebú'l-Khattáb 'Umer son of 'Abdu'r-Rahmán son of Hassán, of Jerusalem. His father was of the people of Damascus, while his mother was from Ascalon. They met at Jerusalem and lived there, where he married her, and she bore him this child in the year A.H. 604 or 606 (A.D. 1207 or 1209). He went to 'Ummu 'Abída<sup>843</sup> when he was 12 years old, and he joined the Sheykh Nejmu'd-Dín, known as 'el-'Akhḍar, of the posterity of the brother of the righteous Sheykh 'Ahmed the Rifá'ite.<sup>844</sup> From him he took the vow, and by him was he fostered. When the Sheykh saw his perfection, he commanded him to enter Mekka and perform the pilgrimage, then to enter Yemen and disseminate there the Rifá'ite garb.<sup>845</sup> He also informed him that he would there meet with a man from whom he would derive advantage in religious and in mundane matters. He obeyed, and when he entered Yemen he met with the jurist 'Umer son of Sa'íd the 'Uqaybite, with whom he sojourned a certain time at Dhú 'Uqayb.<sup>846</sup> This was in the year A.H. 649 (A.D. 1251-2). The jurist made him publicly known, and showed great respect for him. He then caused him to reside in a locality near to himself, known by the name of Ma'arr.<sup>847</sup>

 He removed thence afterwards to many places, in which many convents were built for him, until the last convent that he inhabited was Dhehúb,<sup>848</sup> below the city of 'Ibb, whence he was never absent until he died after the dissemination of the Rifá'ite garb, especially in the canton of Mikhláf.<sup>849</sup> His death took place in the night before Friday, the 22nd of the first Rebí' of the year (about 12th March, 1289).

f. 139<sup>b</sup>

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(f. 140<sup>a</sup>)

f. 140<sup>b</sup> And in the year A.H. 689 (1290) died the 'Emír Šárimu'd-Dín  
 Dáwúd<sup>850</sup> son of the 'Imám Maṣṣúr 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥamza  
 f. 141<sup>a</sup> son of Suleymán son of Ḥamza son of 'Aliyy son of Ḥamza.  
 His death took place the —teenth of Šafer in the year (end of  
 February, 1290). He was a leading man among the Sherífs,  
 and one of their chiefs. He was an eloquent poet, a piece of  
 his composition being a poem in which he eulogizes Melik  
 139<sup>q</sup> Mudhaffer and begs of him the release of his son Muḥammed,  
 who was a hostage in the fort of Dumluwa. It is this poem in  
 which he says :

*" Shall I scold him in our estrangement, or shall I not scold him ;  
 shall I have patience until he reform, or shall I shun him ?  
 And who will be conveyer from me to Melik Yúsuf 'Ebú 'Umer,<sup>851</sup>  
 the giver of bounty and the bestower thereof.  
 And I have no irritating remark to utter, save that I will recall  
 to his mind the document of which he was the writer.  
 Then do thou allow our father<sup>852</sup> to intercede for his two children ;  
 for verily, he is thy intercessor as to the sin which thou  
 hast drawn on thyself."*

And it is said that the Khalífa<sup>853</sup> (Sultan), on whom may  
 God have mercy, wept when he read this distich, and said :  
 " Set him at liberty as a mark of reverence for his ancestor,<sup>854</sup> on  
 whom be God's salutation and greeting." And it is also said  
 that he saw in a vision the Prophet,<sup>855</sup> on whom be God's  
 salutation and greeting, who said, " Verily, I will reward thee  
 for this on the day of the resurrection," as he patted him on  
 the face.

And in this year A.H. 689 the Sultan went down to Zebíd  
 on the occasion of the rejoicings which he instituted for the  
 circumcision<sup>856</sup> of the children of his children. Melik Mu'eyyed  
 also descended for this reason from Šan'á'. The Sheríf Jemálu'd-  
 Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, with the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Músá  
 son of 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám, went down also. This became  
 a means for giving strength to the 'Emírship of the 'Emír

Humámu'd-Dín Suleymán son of Qásim son of the paternal aunt of the late 'Emír Ṣarimu'd-Dín, called to the mercy of God, who be extolled. For the 'Emír Humámu'd-Dín took possession of the forts of Dháfár,<sup>857</sup> and then marched to Telmuṣ,<sup>858</sup> near Ṣa'da, capturing it also. f. 115<sup>a</sup>

And when our lord Melik Mu'eyyed returned to Ṣan'á', the peace having been already broken between the 'Emír and the Sultan, as we have related, the 'Imám openly declared himself for an infraction of the peace. So when the 'Imám cast aside his plighted troth, letters came from the people of the east country declaratory of their submission to our lord the Sultan. Upon this our lord Melik Mu'eyyed went up with his levies and his troops, and there remained not one out of the tribes of the east country but came and served on foot in obedience to him, voluntarily or by constraint. But some of them held back, and Melik Mu'eyyed fought the recusants and ravaged their country, so that they tendered their submission to him by force. Melik Mu'eyyed became thus master of all the east country in its entirety, and laid it waste. f. 141<sup>b</sup>

And in the year A.H. 690 (A.D. 1291) Melik Mu'eyyed marched from Ṣan'á' with his forces to Mount Lewdh,<sup>859</sup> where he fought against the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yahyá. The 'Imám Muṭahher had placed the son of his paternal uncle, the Sheríf 'Es'ad, in garrison at Ten'um,<sup>860</sup> where were his own women and children. Melik Mu'eyyed fought against him for a space in the mountain, ascending it afterwards against him by assault on the 5th of Muḥarrem of the year 691 (27th December, 1291). (f. 142<sup>a</sup>)

In that year A.H. 690 died the jurist and 'Imám, the scholar, the Pivot of Yemen and the Erudite of both Yemen and North Yemen ('Esh-Shám), 'Ebú'l-'Abbás 'Aḥmed son of Músá son of 'Aliyy son of 'Umer son of 'Ujeyl ('Ibnu 'Ujeyl),<sup>861</sup> whose birthday had been in Ramaḍán, 608 (January-February, 1212). He was an 'Imám among the 'Imáms of the Muslims, learned, practical, righteous, scrupulous, abstemious. There was not among the 'Imáms of latter days anyone more subtle than he of scrutiny f. 142<sup>b</sup>

f. 143<sup>b</sup>

in jurisprudence, or more erudite than he therein, diving down after the minutiae of jurisprudence, and lucidly explaining its obscurities. He was blessed in teaching, and subtle of view therein. He was a source of miraculous phenomena well known, and of effects mentioned by history. Princes used to visit him, pay their respects to him, honour his worth, accept his intercession, and desire him to be shown indulgence as to what was due from him by way of king's taxes; but this he would not accept, saying: "I prefer to be of the company of paying subjects." He was a frequent performer of the pilgrimage to Mekka the Venerated; and when he went on pilgrimage, there would perform the journey and rites with him a large concourse of people from among the inhabitants of Yemen, as a blessing to themselves and as company to him. Hardly ever would anyone encounter him with evil intent from among the Arabs; and if any interfered with him he never prospered. The caravan used to travel by land in his day, and for a considerable space after his time. It was solely named "the caravan of 'Ibnu 'Ujeyl," whether he himself journeyed with it or whether some other of the jurists accompanied it. This is one of the things worthy of marvel; and how well adapted is this to the saying of the Ancient—

۲۴۲ *"Some have died whom their good deeds have survived; others have lived while they, among men, were as dead."*

There was hardly one of the jurists of his age but had recourse to his juridical science and to his knowledge; but it was never heard that he was in want of the science of any one of them for an answer or for a question. He ceased not from what we have described, as to teaching, and as to laying open his whole soul, until he died on the Tuesday, 24th of the first Rebi' of this year, 690 (about 5th April, 1291). Melik Wáthiq 'Ibráhím son of Melik Mudhaffer was then in the city of Feshál,<sup>862</sup> his fief at that time from his father, and about half a day's journey from Beytu'l-Faqh. When he heard of

the death of the jurist he mounted his horse, with his special household, and was present at the funereal ablution of the jurist, being one of his washers; then, when he was borne to his tomb, was one of his bearers, assisting also to lower him into his grave, together with other assistants in that duty. Many men of mark of that age envied his having had that (ff. 144<sup>a</sup>-146 honour.

In the year A.H. 691 (A.D. 1291-2) Melik Mu'eyyed captured Mount Lewdh, ascending it on the 5th Muḥarrem (27th December, 1291), as we have narrated. He put to death a certain number of the 'Imám's troops, the 'Imám himself going forth as a fugitive by broken paths and passes never before travelled. He went forth to the country of the Benú Wehhás, then up the Dháhir, until he had journeyed to Derwán.<sup>863</sup> Melik Mu'eyyed went by the summits of Mount Lewdh to Şan'á' in triumph and rejoicing. He remained there the rest of the year.

f. 146<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 692 (A.D. 1292-3) an estrangement arose between the Sherif Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh and Melik Mu'eyyed. The Sherif Jemálu'd-Dín conceived a fear of Melik Mu'eyyed, ceased to visit him, and removed his family by night from Şan'á'. This reached the knowledge of the Khalífa (Sultan), who wrote to the Sherif 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh asking him as to the cause of his refraining from paying his respects. The Sherif wrote him a reply in which he said: "Verily thy son is a young, powerful prince, and I dread from him some sudden act, more than that of which thou wouldst say 'David erred.'" <sup>864</sup> He returned him as an answer: "God forbend that he should do this, or that his father should so act." But the mind of the Sherif was not tranquillized, so that he remained in an attitude of guarded refusal. The misunderstanding became subsequently intensified, and the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín showed himself openly in rebellion and ostentatiously opened a correspondence with the 'Imám, who was in his castle at Hajja,<sup>865</sup> he himself being in his castle at Bírash <sup>866</sup> in the Ma'ázib country.

f. 147<sup>a</sup>f. 147<sup>a</sup>f. 147<sup>b</sup>

The 'Imám complied with his wish, and went up to him with a large force. The 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín, together with those siding with him of the people of Shaṭīb<sup>887</sup> and of those of Dháhir, drew together and joined the 'Imám, the whole of them then going against Kewla. They camped against it for a certain time, but could not penetrate into any part thereof.

After this the whole of the Sherífs leagued themselves together, visited one another, renounced all that divided them in the matter of bloodwit or vengeance, and collected for war with the Sultan. One of the Sherífs wrote a letter to Melik Mu'eyyed, in which he said :

*"Stand thou aside from the dominion of which thou art the chief,  
and turn thou back from the realm of which thou holdest  
possession by rapine.*

*Have a care ! Verily God hath willed a war against you, and  
the Compassionate One hath fashioned for me, in His  
Kingdom, a host.*

*I will bring them against thee, scattered and by troops, sinewy,  
sleek-coated, huge, and small of waist ;*

*Thereupon lion-like warriors of the sons of Luweyy son of  
Ghálīb,<sup>888</sup> chieftains who hover round the foe, and who are  
already expert in battle.*

*There is no shame in the mountains of Lewdh for a lord, to  
whom, by thy turning away, thou hast converted reprobation  
into a highway."*

Melik Mu'eyyed answered him with a letter, and with some distichs in which he says :

*"Have thou a care ! Hurry thou not ! For thou art not the man  
for that. There shall come to thee thy compeer, who shall  
teach thee sword-play.*

*If thou be a man of determination, then take thou not to flight,  
as is the custom of him to whom thou hast become a  
follower.*

*And question thou the mountains of Lewdh as to us and as to you ; for the most excellent of you turned his back, and left you behind as spoil.*

*But I will treat you with forgiveness, since such is a point in my character ; while you never pardon a fault committed."*

And when the counsel of the Sherífs had become unanimous, and they had come together to wage war on the Sultan, he sent forth his divinely aided forces, while his well-replenished treasury went up from Yemen. The cavalry was of about a thousand horsemen, and the infantry about ten thousand footmen. Melik Mu'eyyed also went forth from Şan'á' with his troops and the array of his father that had come up from Yemen. He then ascended Dháhír and encamped in the two places named 'el-Májilán,<sup>869</sup> where there followed between him and the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Wehhás negociations and correspondence. They then met and became reconciled, his troops joining Melik Mu'eyyed after he had made oath that he would keep faith. Melik Mu'eyyed stayed there a month. He then ascended Dháhír, remaining a space in Upper Dháhír, when he moved on to Lower Dháhír. He now advanced against them in the Májl of Şa'da,<sup>870</sup> where there was fought a severe battle, and the horse and foot retreated before the troops of the 'Imám until they came to the Red Mound ('el-'*Eketetu'l-Hamrá'*).<sup>871</sup> The Benú Shiháb and the men of Haḍúr remained behind and deserted from the array of the Sultan to the forces of the Sherífs, and turned round upon our people in a determined attack. Five men were killed, and Melik Mu'eyyed returned to his camp. He then set out for Kewla, but stayed there one night only. Next he went to Bewn,<sup>872</sup> where the 'Emír 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Wehhás asked of him some troops to stay with him. So he gave him some horse and foot, returning then to Şan'á'.

And in this year A.H. 692 (A.D. 1292-3) the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer gave in fief to his son Melik Wáthiq<sup>873</sup> 'Ibráhím son of Yúsus the province of Dhafár of the Ḥabúḍite. So he

f. 148<sup>a</sup>

f. 151



proceeded thither by sea from 'Aden in the month of Ramaḍán (August), departing not thence until he died at the date which we shall specify, if God will.

- f. 148<sup>b</sup> And in the year A.H. 693 (A.D. 1293-4) Melik Mu'eyyed made ready for war and for an ascent against the canton of Ḥaḍúr and the Shihábite<sup>874</sup> districts. He then went forth and encamped in Qubba.<sup>875</sup> There now took place between him and the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh messages and addresses in the sense of a peace, on the bases that Melik Mu'eyyed should return to Ṣan'á', and that the conclusion of the peace should be arranged at Dhafár.<sup>876</sup> The 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín intended by this merely a deception, inasmuch as he was in a state of unpreparedness for war. Melik Mu'eyyed returned
- f. 149<sup>a</sup> therefore to Ṣan'á', and the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín prepared himself for the journey to Dhafár, taking with him the elders and notables of the districts. Melik Mu'eyyed equipped his wezír, the jurist Sherefu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Aliyy son of Juneyd, with fifty horsemen of the Baḥriyya slave-guards and two hundred foot, together with all that was necessary of unprepared food, kitchen utensils, and furniture, as also a company of upholsterers and waiters. He then set out from Ṣan'á' and encamped at Werwer,<sup>877</sup> after which he went up to Dhafár
- r<sup>1</sup>v with a number of cavalry and foot-soldiers. And they conversed on the question of the peace, and they represented to the wezír that the matter was settled. But their design was merely to put their affairs in order and get those to join them who, though their associates, had held back from them; such as the 'Emír Músá son of 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imám, and the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Wehhás. They therefore wrote to these two and gained them over. So the two rebelled against the Sultan also, and entered Dhafár militarily escorted. The whole of them were now unanimous, and they all took an oath of fealty to the 'Emír Humámu'd-Dín Suleymán son of Qásim.<sup>878</sup> So when they had become of one voice, they gathered themselves to the jurist Sherefu'd-Dín, having drawn up a document on the

purpose of the peace, in which they had laid down conditions for things without customary precedent ; and they declared : " We will not make peace, excepting on the conditions inserted by us in this paper. Do thou, therefore, send it to thy master." The wezír despatched it, in consequence, to Melik Mu'eyyed, who, when apprised of its contents, sent it on to his father, the Khalífa.<sup>879</sup> On reading it, the Khalífa deemed it fit only to be rejected, and gave no other answer but the sovereign command issued to his son Melik Mu'eyyed, ordering him to go forth with his array to the Shihábite and Ḥaḍúrite cantons. He equipped also the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of Behrán, and Fehd son of Hátim, for the canton of Şa'da. Thus Melik Mu'eyyed went forth to the Shihábite countries, and laid waste therein a number of places. He then marched to the canton of Ḥaḍúr, devastating there also some localities in Ḥáretu'l-Jebel (Mountain Canton).<sup>880</sup>

The 'Emír Táju'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of Yahyá son of Ḥamza now joined with a large force, about a couple of thousand foot, as a reinforcement to the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh. The 'Emír Humámu'd-Dín Suleymán son of Qásim came forth from Dḥafár and camped in a place named Qust,<sup>881</sup> in the country of the son of Wehhás, and near to Raḥba.<sup>882</sup> Melik Mu'eyyed fought them both, and at one time at Rehiqa,<sup>883</sup> and another time in Mount Ḥaḍúr. He attacked one morning early Beyt Shu'ayb,<sup>884</sup> carrying it by assault at the sword's point, and slaughtering its inhabitants. He then returned to the land of the son of Wehhás,<sup>885</sup> and took the village of the Benú'l-Qadím,<sup>886</sup> laid waste the districts, and went back to Şan'a' in Sha'bán, 693 (July, 1293). A truce was then concluded at the court of the Sultan, with peace between him and the Sherífs.

But in regard to the Şa'da expedition, there was opposed to it the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Músá son of 'Aḥmed son of the Imám, with about three hundred horsemen, besides his force of foot. Fightings occurred between them, with some slaughter on both sides. A truce for three months was then settled,

f. 149<sup>a</sup>f. 149<sup>b</sup>

and after this Melik Mu'eyyed went down to the court of the Sultan, whither came also envoys from the Sherífs to conclude a peace.

189 The 'Emír 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh went forth to the canton of the east country, and rebuilt the works of Ten'um.<sup>887</sup> The whole of the inhabitants of the east country obeyed his call. He then joined the 'Emír Suleymán son of Muḥammed son of Suleymán son of Músá, being then in the canton of Dhemár. The people went over to the side of the two, and disorder befell the districts.

The command of the Sultan was now issued for the ascent of Melik 'Eshref to the upper countries for the cause of peace. He proceeded, therefore, to Şan'á, which he entered on the Monday, 10th of Dhú'l-Qa'da of the year 693 (about 1st October, 1294). The whole population of the east country flocked to him; all the people of Ḥaḍúr and the 'Emírs of the Shihábites; the Benú'r-Rá'i came also in troops.

The 'Emír 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh then went forth from Dhafár to Redmán, on which the order was issued by our lord the Sultan Melik 'Eshref to the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥátim to proceed to Redmán and to journey with Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh to Şan'á'. The 'Emír Táju'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of Yahyá son of Ḥamza had already united with the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, and was staying with him in Redmán. So the two went down together in company of the 'Emír Bedru'd Dín to Melik 'Eshref at Şan'á'.

190 When they reached the fort, there met them the 'Emír Şaláḥu'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of Melik 'Eshref, as a civility and an honour to them; and when they neared the city, Melik 'Eshref himself met them escorted by his troops and his men at arms. They presented their homage to him, the whole of them ranging themselves at his stirrup until they reached the sacred pavilion. There he treated them with honour and received them with courtesy, so that there was not left one individual who had declared himself in revolt but came into him voluntarily or through fear.

Thus saith the author of "The Necklace" ('Iqd) : "Melik 'Eshref now set himself to treat of peace between himself and the Sherífs, as a body, at the hand of the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh. This matter was settled, and proclaimed by the heralds. The festival of the sacrifices occurred, and the whole population was at his gate, Sherífs, Arabs, and Ghuzz Kurds. He went forth to the parade-ground in the midst of his troops and retainers, passing thence to the open-air oratory (*Muṣallá*) in the greatest pomp and most gorgeous state. He stayed in Ṣan'á' during Dhú'l-Hijja and Muḥarrem (November and December, 1294)." f. 150<sup>b</sup>

And in the year A.H. 694 (A.D. 1294-5) Melik 'Eshref made ready for his descent to Yemen, his departure from Ṣan'á' taking place on Friday, 12th Ṣafer, of that year (about 1st January, 1295). When he arrived at Ta'izz, and had taken up his abode there, his father made over to him the unprofitable sovereignty, placing in his hands the reins of firm command.<sup>888</sup> The illustrious warrant of investiture was issued from the council-chamber of the great princes and honourable lords, couched in terms unanswerable, suggestive of deep insight and sound judgment, surpassing what the downpour of the clouds causes to grow in the meads, casting reproach on the solitary large pearls on the neck of a swelling-breasted damsel, and setting forth : "After thanks and praise to God, salutation to the apostle of God, whom may God salute and greet, as also after prayer, what has to be said is as follows : 'Verily I have appointed as king over you one on whom, by God, the striver after an approximation to what may cause ruin will produce no effect, nor he who hastes to excite to a postponed sincerity, nor a perseverance in selfishness or in following after a persistency in testing and trying. And he is our esteemed son, our luminous meteor, our provision laid up according to our desire, our aider through whom we hope for the prosperity of the dominions and people, wishing for him from God forgiveness and salvation in the resurrection. We have enjoined unto him some of the means of repelling the attacks of enemies

f. 151

f. 151<sup>a</sup>

and the protection of subjects, the beacons also of gentleness and consideration, as he has practised through his fidelity to his duty. He is begged to help him, who has no helper himself save through him. And we will not describe unto you, of his laudable habits and virtuous deeds, save what is already manifest and conspicuous, emblazoned by trial, and bruited abroad from you by every tongue. We have prescribed unto him that he prove himself to you clement and merciful, munificent and generous, so long as you obey him, according to his wish, with the obedience of submission. But whoso shall show himself perverse, forsake obedience, and rebel, verily, he shall abase him, even though the whole world cleave unto him by the tie of blood-relationship. Be ye therefore unto him good subjects by lending ear and obeying in all cases, so that he may be to you, by goodness and tenderness, the best of kings and rulers.'"

For Thus was delivered over to the Sultan Melik 'Eshref the commanding and prohibiting, the loosing and binding, the outstretching and contracting, on land and sea, in the provinces and on the coasts, in cities, castles, and frontier places, as also the conducting of war and peace, with the sending forth of the troops and levies. Nor did he have recourse to his father, save in the most weighty matters; showing no weakness, inability, or failing. And this took place in the former Jumádá of the year 694 (March-April, 1295).

f. 151<sup>b</sup> And when he undertook to govern the affairs of the realm, as we have narrated, he took up his abode in the castle of Ta'izz, while the Khalífa resided in Thu'bat.<sup>889</sup> Melik Mu'eyyed, on whom be God's mercy, then took his departure towards Shahr<sup>890</sup> and Hāḍramawt, his mind not being pleased at what had been specially given, as to the sovereignty, to his brother Melik 'Eshref rather than to him. His paternal aunt, the princess Shemsiyya,<sup>891</sup> went with him, for she loved him with much affection.

And then the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer Shemsu'd-Dín Yúsuf son of 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl died, his decease

happening on Tuesday, 10th Ramaḍán, of the year 694 (about 20th July, 1295), and he being then, it is said, a man of seventy-four years, ten months, eleven days, and ten hours old. His reign was of forty-six years. He it was whom the Commander of the Believers, 'Aliyy son of 'Ebú Tálíb,<sup>892</sup> to whom be salutation, meant in his word spoken concerning a fierce battle special to the people of Yemen: "Then shall rule Melik Mudhaffer, who shall govern them thirty and seventeen (years)."

The Khalífa was a prince of a kind, generous, clement disposition, prodigal of money, especially for his wars, and he was gifted, as to government and policy, beyond what was given to any other prince. When he died, the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yaḥyá, on hearing of his demise, exclaimed: "The greatest of the ancient line of Yemenite kings is dead! The Mu'áwiya<sup>893</sup> of the age is dead! He is dead whose pens have broken our swords and our spears! May God have mercy on him!"

Thus saith the author, on whom may God have mercy: Melik Mudhaffer, on whom may God have mercy, founded many pious institutions which are in evidence to the present time. Of these is the college which he built in the west quarter of Ta'izz,<sup>894</sup> known as the Mudhafferiyya. Therein he ordained a professor, a tutor, and ten students; appointing also to it a precentor, a mu'ezzin, a teacher, and ten orphans to learn the Qur'án, together with one beadle. He assigned in mortmain trust to it what sufficed to cover the maintenance of the whole of them. He further built a mosque in that same western quarter of Ta'izz, this mosque being known in our time as the New Mosque. He appointed for it a precentor, a preacher, two mu'ezzins, and two beadles, creating a mortmain trust for it sufficient to maintain the whole. To him belongs, moreover, the guest-house in Dhū 'Udeyna,<sup>895</sup> He also built the dervish-convent<sup>896</sup> that is in the city of Hays,<sup>897</sup> to which he appointed a precentor, a mu'ezzin, a beadle, a teacher, and orphans to learn the Qur'án. He established

f. 152<sup>a</sup>

as food for those who came a quarter of grain per diem, a measure of the people of Yemen, which is more than a large and strong camel can carry; and besides that, flesh meat and dates to boot. It is averred that the produce of the large estates which he gave in mortmain to the dervish-convent mentioned above as existing in the city of Ḥays, amounts yearly to a thousand quarters of millet.

Another of his monuments is the mosque in the city of Mehjem,<sup>898</sup> called after him the Mudhafferiyiyy mosque, in which he established a professor and students, a precentor, a preacher, a mu'ezzin, a beadle, a teacher, and orphans, assigning for them in mortmain trust a liberal estate, enough for their maintenance.

One of his works, again, is the mosque in Wásiṭ of Maḥálib,<sup>899</sup> in which he placed a precentor, a preacher, a mu'ezzin, a teacher, and orphans, giving in mortmain trust a sufficiency for their support. He also founded a college in Dhafár of the Ḥabúḍite,<sup>900</sup> settling thereon in mortmain trust sufficient for the support of those connected with it.

His eunuch slave Bedr the Mudhafferite built furthermore in the city of Zebíd a college for jurisprudence as taught by the school of the 'Imám Sháf'iyy, with whom may God be pleased; a second college for the professors and students of the apostolic traditions; and a third for the studies of the reciters of the noble Qur'án according to its seven accepted versions;<sup>901</sup> as also a guest-house. To each of these he appointed a precentor, a mu'ezzin, a beadle, and a sufficient trust for their perpetual maintenance.

f. 100

The rule of the Khalífa, on whom may God have mercy, who be extolled, was most approximate to equity and clemency. He used to sit in company with the learned and the righteous; and he used to occupy himself, may God have mercy on him, with science, of which he acquired as much as was vouchsafed to him in every branch. He studied jurisprudence under the jurist Muḥammed son of 'Ismá'íl the Ḥaḍramawtite, and under others. Also the apostolic traditions under the jurist

Muḥammed son of 'Ibráhím the Feshelite, and under the jurist Muḥibbu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Abdu'lláh the Ṭaberite. He read syntax and lexicology under the Sheykh Yaḥyá son of 'Ibráhím the Dwarf. He learnt logic from the jurist 'Aḥmed son of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd the Surdudite. He collected forty apostolic traditions of God's apostle, on whom be the salutation and greeting of God, twenty of incitement, and twenty of a minatory character.

The jurist Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'lláh the Reymite informed me, and I have several times heard him say: "I have studied the principal books on the traditions, from among the books of our deceased lord the Khalífa; and I have found the whole of them marked with the orthographical marks in the handwriting of himself, so that whoever saw them would say that he had no other occupation in his whole life; and this, in spite of his assiduity in studying science under several branches, and in spite of his attention to the affairs of the realm."

f. 152<sup>b</sup>

His teacher, the jurist Muḥammed son of the Ḥaḍramawtite, has also said: "Our lord Melik Mudhaffer had written out every verse of the Book of God, who be extolled, and also its commentary; he had committed them all to memory as well as their commentary, so as to repeat them away from the texts."

He possessed a complete mastery over the science of medicine, and when he conquered the city of Dhafár of the Ḥabúḍite he mentioned in his letter to Melik Dháhir Beybars, lord of Egypt, that he was in need of a physician for the city of Dhafár, inasmuch as it was malarious; and he added: "Let not thy exalted presence imagine that we desire the physician for ourselves; for, praise be to God, we know, of medicine, that which no other knows besides ourselves; and we have busied ourselves therewith with extreme assiduity from the days of our youth. Our son, also, 'Umer 'Eshref, is one of the doctors of medicine." To him belongs the (authorship of the) book named 'el-Jámi', the like of which pertains to no one.

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Mudhaffer, on whom God have mercy, was insatiable for science. This is substantiated by what I have seen in his own handwriting in one of the sections of the commentary on the Qur'án by Fakhru'd-Dín Ráziyy, a passage the purport of which declares: "I have studied this commentary from beginning to end with minute attention, and I have noticed therein many things wanting. Four copies of the same came to me from Egypt, from the Judge of Judges Táju'd-Dín son of the daughter of A'azz, and I found in them this defect as before. I was not contented with this, but I believed it to have arisen from the transcriber. So I sent a messenger to journey as far as Khurásán, to the city of Herát; and he brought back to me the script of the author. Then I approached unto it, and I saw therein the defect as before, and many spaces left blank." Consider, then, this exalted  
 rov painstaking in the ascertainment of sciences, this labour therein, and this study of a commentary comprising all the sciences!

He was a lover of his subjects and a benefactor to them. He would not burden them beyond what they could endure. When the people of a canton complained of any one of the tax-collectors or of the writers, he would recall him away from them, never sending him back to that canton for fear of his bearing it a grudge. Whenever a district yielded more revenue than was usual, or less than what was customary, he would enquire into the reason of the surplus or deficiency. If the surplus arose from an innovation put in force by the collector, or the deficiency from some decay in the canton, he would chastise the collector commensurately and fine him, never again appointing him to a collectorship. He used to enjoin on the governors and fief-holders to practise equity towards the subjects, and to show respect to the learned and to the righteous.

f. 153<sup>a</sup> It is said that he had five hundred horsemen in Egypt, who warred against the Franks. He loaded their beasts of burden from Yemen with what he sent to them by way of presents and rarities.

It is also reported that the sovereign of China forbade the Muslims of his country to practise circumcision. This grieved and distressed them. So the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, on whom be God's mercy, wrote a letter to him interceding with him to grant permission to them, and sent also unto him a magnificent present, consonant with what he desired. He accepted this intercession and gave them his permission in the matter.<sup>902</sup> f. 154

There came forth unto him into the world seventeen male children, of whom the greater part died in their infancy, but out of whom five sons survived him. These were : (1) 'Umer 'Eshref, (2) Dáwúd Mu'eyyed, (3) 'Ibráhím Wáthiq, (4) Ḥasan Mes'úd, (5) 'Eyyúb Maṣṣúr. They all reigned as sovereigns, and invocations were made for them in the pulpits, while money was coined in their names; all except Mes'úd, who attained to none of these things.

His Wezír was the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Es'ad the 'Imránite.

A number of eloquent poets eulogized him, men of renown. One was the famous poet Muḥammed son of Ḥimyer, the paragon of his age, who lived in the beginning of his reign. (ff. 153<sup>b</sup>-154<sup>a</sup>) Another was the jurist Siráju'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of Da'ás, one of those with whom he used to sit in company, and of his intimates. The Khalífa, on whom be God's mercy, used to speak in his praise, preferring him to the son of Ḥimyer, and saying: "Verily the son of Ḥimyer is merely a shameless buffoon." A third of them was Mutenahhi, one of the poets of the north country (esh-Shám).<sup>903</sup> f. 155<sup>a</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

*On the Establishment of the lesser 'Eshrefi Sovereignty.*

Thus saith the author, on whom be God's mercy : When the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, on whom be God's mercy, who be extolled, had died as we have related, his son Melik 'Eshref Mumeyyidu'd-Dín 'Umer son of Yúsuf son of 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl rose up as the aider of the realm, taking possession of the castles, cities, the whole of the provinces, and all the countries. He was an auspicious prince, wise, excellent, learned, ingenious, of good manners, and quiet. He had occupied himself with an acquisition of the sciences in the days of his emírship, so as to surpass others in a number of their branches, and to possess a fair knowledge of the remainder. He compiled many works, and was beloved by the people with attachments differing according to their moral states and various political degrees.

When his brother Melik Mu'eyyed heard of the death of his father, he himself being then in Shaḥr as we have related, he went forth from Shaḥr to proceed to Yemen in quest of the sovereignty.

Thus says the son of 'Abdu'l-Mejíd : And when he had become near to Yemen, there reached him a letter from his brother Melik Manṣúr, cautioning him, and indicating to him the castle of Semdán,<sup>904</sup> which was then in his hands. f. 155<sup>b</sup> He thanked him for this act, and became irresolute as to 171 persevering or desisting. And while he was in this state of mind there reached him a letter from the judge Muwaffaqu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed the Yaḥyawite, in which he said : "The rumour has spread abroad that thou hast arrived in Yemen ; and I have heard from one who knows for certain

that thy brother the Sultan Melik 'Eshref has already despatched two individuals of the self-devoting (Fedáwiyya)<sup>905</sup> Assassin sect to seek thee out; therefore beware, beware, and take heed for thy life." And when this letter from the judge Muwaffaqu'd-Dín came to him with the purport we have mentioned, he considered that the matter was become serious, and set out and marched with all possible dispatch. When he arrived at 'Ebyen, where there was a garrison on the part of Melik 'Eshref, the commander fled to Yemen with a part of his force, while another portion went over to Melik Mu'eyyed. He then sent on his baggage and his female suite to the castle of Semdán, causing a military escort to accompany them. They reached their destination in safety, while he set out for 'Aden, being resolved to attempt its capture, that he might ascertain how far his brother would push matters with him.

So he proceeded to 'Aden and examined the place. He descried on one side thereof a dilapidated but skilfully constructed rampart. So he sent for one of the hunters who followed the chase round about the mountain, to ask of him concerning it and the paths in it, whether it was easy or difficult of access, whether there was a road in it or not leading to the gate of 'Aden. The hunter remembered that there was in it a road by which a man could reach the gate of the town. So he said to him: "Would it be possible for thee to take with thee some troops and march them to the place thou hast mentioned?" And he answered: "Yes." But the Sultan concealed his design, and retained the hunter near him. r11

When the time of the sunset devotions was past, he sent with the hunter three hundred of the picked men of his infantry, enjoining on them not to show themselves until they should see the Sultan in their vicinity. So they marched in company with the hunter. When Melik Mu'eyyed arose in the morning, he collected his forces and took the direction towards the gate, where the governor had already assembled a levy within the town for the defence of the gate. As

f. 156<sup>a</sup> Melik Mu'eyyed came near to them, and they were disposing themselves to do battle with him, the infantry mentioned above rose up against them, shouting from the summit of the mountain and rushing down on the gate, of which they took possession. The governor fled with his levy into the interior of the town, shouting "Quarter! Quarter!" The Sultan granted them their lives, and invited them to come to him. So the governor, the commissioner, the notables of the town, and the principal merchants went forth to him from love or fear. Thus he possessed himself of 'Aden, though no man of ambition had ever before taken it. He then returned to the gardens overwhelmed with an excess of joy, and reciting as a proverb the words of the poet:—

*"When no other vehicle is forthcoming than the spear-heads, the constrained one has no option but to mount thereon."* 906

111 The Sultan<sup>907</sup> next advanced to Lahj and 'Ebyen, of both of which he took possession. Yemen was filled with dread of him, and the hearts of the inhabitants with his love.

And when the Sultan Melik 'Eshref heard of what he had done at 'Aden, Lahj, and 'Ebyen, as also that the people were attracted towards him as iron is drawn by the magnet, he equipped his son Násir with three hundred horsemen, who went as far as Ráha<sup>908</sup> and halted there. The Sherif Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh came down from the upper country, and the Sultan Melik 'Eshref furnished him with horsemen, and sent him to join his son Násir. He next sent for troops to come from Şan'á and other places, and he also equipped the two sons, Nejmu'd-Dín and Bedru'd-Dín, of the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Er-Demir. The levies thus became numerous, and the cavalry collected in large numbers. But there was at that time with Melik Mu'eyyed only the forces that had come with him from Shaḥr, and a body of the Jaháfil<sup>909</sup> tribesmen whose captain was 'Umer son of Suheyl.

(f. 156<sup>b</sup>)

And in the year A.H. 695 (A.D. 1295-6) the 'Eshrefiyy f. 157<sup>a</sup>  
 forces marched from Ráḥa to Juwwa<sup>910</sup> to a spot named the  
 Grassy Knoll. Mu'eyyed likewise marched towards them  
 between his two sons Dháfir and Mudhaffer, he being thus as  
 a poet has expressed himself: "Thou wouldst suppose him  
 of himself in a clattering concourse." And when the people  
 came into collision, he routed them until he took no notice of  
 them at the Knoll. So the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh  
 and the chiefs of the array descended and took possession of  
 part of the plain, when a second charge took place and the f. 157<sup>b</sup>  
 Jaháfíl tribesmen were broken and turned back in flight,  
 they forming the bulk of his force. He therefore returned to  
 the high road in a defensive disposition. But his treasury and  
 equipage had been already made spoil, and the enemy had  
 surrounded him on the highway in every direction. The son  
 of his brother, Muḥammed Náṣir, now came to him and  
 remained with him a long while, after which they went forth  
 together to a tent that had been set up. This they did not  
 leave until he had been bound, as also his two sons, and they  
 continued in that place the rest of the day, departing at  
 early morn for Juwwa.

The Sultan Melik 'Eshref was there, waiting to receive  
 intelligence of anything that should happen; and when the  
 news was brought of their having been put in bonds, he  
 wept bitterly, and commanded that they should be treated  
 with honour, sending them on to the castle of Ta'izz, where  
 they arrived on Sunday, 29th Muḥarrem, of the year 695  
 (about 9th December, 1295), and were lodged in the house of  
 detention.

The Sultan Melik 'Eshref gave orders for meats and drinks  
 to be assigned to them in due course; but placed over them  
 a eunuch named Káfúr the Betúlite, who was then captain  
 of the corps of slave-guards. According to what is reported  
 of him, he used to break in small fragments the bread when-  
 ever he entered their presence, and sometimes would search  
 their robes.

When he was thus shut up in the prison, as we have related, the jurist 'Ebú Bekr son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the Yaḥyawite wrote unto him an epistle in which he said: "In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate: By the high forenoon and by the night when it is stilly dark, verily thy Lord God hath not abandoned thee, nor left thee in disgust; and truly the latter end shall be better for thee than the first; and in sooth, perhaps thy Lord God will give unto thee, so that thou be well pleased."<sup>911</sup>

A number of poets congratulated Melik 'Eshref on the capture of his brother, as also on his imprisonment of him. The judge Táju'd-Dín Músá son of Huseyn son of 'Aliyy excelled in this by his words:

*"And were it not that thy opponent is a part of thee, we had uttered a speech at which the rocks would have crumbled; Whereas we now desire that the grudge between you may turn to mutual content, so that affairs may again be made whole."*

When the Sherif 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh wished to go up to his own country, the Sultan Melik 'Eshref clothed him with a robe of honour, made him valuable gifts, and bestowed on him the two fiefs 'Adhíma<sup>912</sup> and Míqá'.<sup>913</sup> And when Melik Mu'eyyed was placed in prison, his paternal aunt, the princess Dár-Shemsiyy, came to the mausoleum of her brother the Khalífa, and dwelt therein a certain space of time, after which she became ailing, and moved to the mansion of our lord Melik Mu'eyyed at Míhál,<sup>914</sup> where she resided until she died on the 1st Rejeb in this year (about 1st May, 1296). When news of her death reached the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yaḥyá, he exclaimed: "Bilqís<sup>915</sup> the Younger is dead!"

And in this year A.H. 695 (A.D. 1295-6), in the month of Jumádá the first (March, 1296), there fell in Yemen a rain that embraced the whole of it; and there came a letter to the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yaḥyá from the governor of

Ráḥa-of-the-Benú-Sheríf,<sup>916</sup> informing him of this rain, in which there was also a great storm of hail that killed a great number of sheep and goats. And on that day there descended a hail-stone as large as a small mountain, with spiked prominences of which each one exceeded a cubit in length.<sup>917</sup> It fell in a lonely spot between the towns of Sījān and Ráḥa, the greater part thereof disappearing in the earth, and leaving only a portion visible above the surface. Twenty men circled round about it, but they could not see, some of them, some others. There fell also another in a place adjacent to the country of Khawlān, which forty men tried to overturn, but which did not permit them to accomplish their object. This is one of the marvels of the kingdom of the heavens and the earth; I recite therefore the litanies of Him whose power created this, and whose wisdom produced it!

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And in the afore-mentioned month of Jumádá of this year 695, the Sultan Melik 'Eshref went up to the city of Dumluwa and thence descended to Zebíd, his entry into which was made by way of the gate of Qurtub,<sup>918</sup> the jurists going before him carrying copies of the Qur'án and the books used in preparation for its study. It was thus a day worthy to be witnessed.

Thus says 'Aliyy son of Ḥasan the Khazrejite: One of those who treasure up points of history, and in whom I trust, informed me, saying: "The Sultan Melik 'Eshref used to go for a holiday during his reign from Zebíd to the date-gardens' (*Nakhl*);<sup>919</sup> and there used to travel with him to the date-gardens three hundred camel-litters, in each one of which was one of his concubine-slaves."

He remained in Zebíd until the month of Sha'bán, after which he went up to Ta'izz in Ramaḍán. In the month of Dhú'l-Hijja of this year (October, 1296) he sprang to Dhemár against the castle of Methwa,<sup>920</sup> stationing therein a garrison of his troops. And among the slave-guards organized by Melik Mudhaffer there was a slave-guardsman called Fáris. The tribesmen of Medh-hij took to watching him, and they

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f. 158<sup>b</sup> went up against him by night from every site they knew of. They beleaguered him one day; then they got into his chamber and killed him, with seventy men of his comrades.<sup>921</sup>

In this year A.H. 695 died the Intimate, the Judge Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Es'ad son of Muḥammed son of Músá the 'Imránite, the paragon of the men of his epoch. There sprang up between him and the Khalífa Melik Mudhaffer an intimacy of the closest nature, and this grew more and more confirmed until it resulted in his appointment as Wezír and as the Judge of Judges.<sup>922</sup> He was an eloquent, fluent, and sedate poet, who has left some charming poems and fine essay treatises. A person who has seen his essay works in a thick volume informed me that they are replete with the qualities of perfection, comprehensive of the environments of grandeur; only that the handwriting thereof is of poor degree. The jurist Muḥammed son of 'Ibráhím of Ṣan'á' also gave me information, saying: "Our Sheykh, the erudite jurist Neffsú'd-Dín Suleymán son of 'Ibráhím the 'Aliyyite, informed me, saying: 'My grandfather the Judge Sherefu'd-Dín 'Ebú'l-Qásim son of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán the 'Eshrefite conversed with us to the effect that he said he found a sheet of paper written in the handwriting of the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín, and deemed his handwriting very poor. This he afterwards  
r1v sent to the Sultan Mujáhid,<sup>923</sup> on whom be God's mercy, that he might astonish him therewith; and he, on whom be God's mercy, answered: "Excellent prince of wezírs to the lord of princes!" These were his very words."

He was also an effective and ingenious preacher, full of subtlety and ability for government, with excellent insight for the management of the realm. And he was the first of those in whom were united the offices of wezír and judge in Yemen in the Mudhafferian reign. After him came the judge Muwaffaqu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed the Yahyawite in the Mu'eyyedian sovereignty; next, the judge Muwaffaqu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed the Yahyawite

in the Mujáhidian epoch; and then the judge Wejíhu'd-Dín 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán son of 'Aliyy son of 'Abbás in the 'Eshrefian period. These are the whole of those in whom were united the offices of judge and wezír up to the present date of the year 802.<sup>924</sup>

The judge Bahá'u'd-Dín ceased not to hold the two functions of the wezirate and chief judgeship, as we have recounted, until the course of the year 694 (1294-5), when, in the month of the latter Jumádá (April-May, 1295), at the time that the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer set up his son the Sultan Melik 'Eshref in the sovereignty and the realm, requiring obedience to him from the countries and the peoples, the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín gave his advice to the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer that his brother the judge Husámu'd-Dín Hassán should become the wezír to 'Eshref. The Khalífa so commanded, and the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín continued in the office of Judge of Judges. His brother Hassán used to refer to him in whatever came before him relating to the low seaboard districts, until the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín expired in the middle of the month of the first Rebí' of the year 695 (about 20th January, 1296).

f. 159\*

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And in this year also died the princess Dáru'sh-Shemsiyy,<sup>925</sup> who was a daughter of the Sultan Melik Mansúr Núru'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl. She was a wise, virtuous, prudent, intelligent woman, who loved her brother Mudhaffer most affectionately. She conducted her government and her measures with good success until he attained the sovereignty; for she was then at Zebíd at the moment of the death of her father, and bestirred herself, spent money in enrolling men, and defended the city until her brother arrived from Mehjem, which was then his fief given to him by his father. When her brother arrived at Zebíd from Mehjem, he took possession thereof, and it was the first city in which his sovereignty was made patent. She was, further, the means of the capture of Dumluwa, mention of which has already been made. For these reasons he used to show great consideration for her, and never opposed her opinion.

She was a dispenser of alms and charity, and many are the institutions she left behind her. Among them is the college known as the Shemsiyya, in Dhú 'Udeyna,<sup>926</sup> a part of the city of Ta'izz, which is well endowed in mortmain trust for a precentor, a mu'ezzin, a beadle, a professor, students, a teacher, and orphans to learn the Qur'án. She built also in Zebíd a college of the same name, in the south of the market of the presses. This, too, she endowed bountifully for the maintenance of those attached to it. She it was who undertook the maintenance of Mu'eyyed, son of her brother, whom she loved with ardent affection, and with whom she journeyed to Shahr, her brother the Sultan Melik Mudhaffer dying while she was there. She and Mu'eyyed then came back; and when Mu'eyyed was put in chains, as we have narrated, she went to Ta'izz and alighted in the college of her brother Mudhaffer, where she dwelt a certain space, and then fell sick. Her malady increasing, she removed to the mansion of Mu'eyyed son of her brother, and continued there until she died in the course of the month of Rejeb in this year. May God, who be extolled, have mercy on her.

f. 159<sup>b</sup>(f. 160<sup>a</sup>)f. 160<sup>b</sup>f. 161<sup>a</sup>

And in the year A.H. 696 (1296-7) died the Sultan Melik 'Eshref Mumeyyidu'd-Dín 'Umer son of Yúsuf son of 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl,<sup>927</sup> in the night before Tuesday, the 23rd Muḥarrem, first month of the said year (about 21st November, 1296). His son Násir was then away at Qahma, while 'Ádil was at Şan'á' on business willed of God, who be extolled.

So the counsels of the slaves of special mark, as of the commonalty and of their highnesses the princesses of the royal family, agreed unanimously on the manifestation of the full moon of munificence, on the outshining of the sun of existence, that the lion should roar in his own jungle, while the right was established on its own pivot, that the Nu'mán<sup>928</sup> of the realm should rule it, and its Luqmán<sup>929</sup> take possession of its rein.

f. 161<sup>b</sup>

When it was daybreak after that night, the grandees of the

eunuchs proceeded to our lord the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed, he being in his place of confinement, and informed him of the demise of his brother Melik 'Eshref, departed to God's mercy. There fell upon him that which befell him of regret for the loss of his brother, while the community of Muslims experienced a joy that well-nigh took away their consciousnesses, a transport of delights that kills. And when he went forth from his prison, he asked of the governor of the castle a sword that he might have in his hand ; so they brought out three swords, for him and his two sons. He then proceeded until he stood by his brother's head, when he wept bitterly and mourned over him most dolefully. He next went forth from his side, having given orders for the preparations for his burial, and seated himself on the throne of the kingdom until the dawn appeared. When the light of dawn had spread, he gave orders to the corps of herald-musicians of the castle to proclaim that prayer be made for God's mercy on Melik 'Eshref and for a prosperous morning to Melik Mu'eyyed, with a recitation of litanies for Him whose kingdom never ends, whose rule never ceases.

Melik 'Eshref was an auspicious prince, righteous, kind to his brothers and kinsfolks, and loving towards them. He was clement towards his subjects, affable in their respect. In his days there happened in Yemen a very grievous visitation of locusts, which attacked the seed crops and the various fruits. The peasants complained to him, and he gave orders for indulgence to be shown them. But the wezír continued to press them ; he being the judge Husámu'd-Dín Hassán son of 'Es'ad the 'Imránite, who did not give effect to any indulgence towards them as the Sultan had commanded. So they complained to the Sultan a second time, who then wrote to him : "O such-a-one, withdraw thou thy hand from them, and disperse them not against us, for it would be hard for us to collect them together again." <sup>930</sup>

One instance of his character, may God have mercy on him, is that the peasantry of the palm-groves (Nakhl) <sup>931</sup> in

f. 161<sup>b</sup> the vale of Zebíd had been ruined by the severe tyranny and exactions of the princes over them. To such a pitch did this condition reach that whosoever possessed date-palms, to him would no one give a wife; and what woman soever owned date-palms, her would no one take to wife, unless deceived. And when a man who possessed no date-palms took to wife a woman who also owned none, he used to say, when making the marriage-contract between him and her: "And one of our pieces of good fortune is that neither of us owns date-palms." But when Melik 'Eshref assumed the sovereignty, he commissioned a person to enquire into this matter of the palms, and removed from their owners the vexations that had been laid on them. He was the first who enjoined numbering on the jurist assessors, and he was followed in this by the princes who ruled after him; may God have mercy on them all.

rvr His sons were Muḥammed Násir and 'Ebú Bekr 'Ádil. His wezír was the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín, the wezír of his father. And when the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín died, he appointed as wezír his brother the judge Ḥusámu'd-Dín. The judge Bahá'u'd-Dín resigned the office of wezír and continued in that of the Judge of Judges. His brother Ḥassán used to consult him in such matters only as he deemed of very great importance. But God knows best.

## CHAPTER V.

*On the Tidings of the Mu'eyyediy Sovereignty and its Events.*

Thus say they who are learned in the science of political biographies and their narratives: When Sultan Melik 'Eshref was dead and the herald had proclaimed the injunction to pray for God's mercy on him and for an auspicious morning on Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed, as we have related, the city was moved, and the people were agitated, rising as waves one towards another. The Sultan gave orders for the gates of the castle to be thrown open; and the first of the people who went up to him was the wezír Husámu'd-Dín Hassán son of 'Es'ad son of Músá the 'Imránite, the wezír of his brother taken to God's mercy. He went to the Sultan and swore solemn oaths of fealty. He then made the troops take the oath, together with the 'Emírs and the notables of the realm. No two of them took oath together against him, and there offered not any resistance to him either plain or mountain, country or inhabited place. All his affairs went forward in peace and concord.

f. 162<sup>a</sup>f. 162<sup>b</sup>

And on that day did Táju'd-Dín son of the Mewşilite write letters to all the towns of the low-lying seaboard countries, and to all the highlands, as well as to the district of Şan'd' and the Sherífs; so that the inhabitants tendered their allegiance by troops and troops.

He then gave orders for the funeral procession of his brother, and execution of his last will. So they carried him forth from the castle in the early morning of the night in which he expired, Dháfir and Mudhaffer, with the notables of the realm, all walking before him until they entered with him into the college<sup>832</sup> he had constructed in the western quarter

of Ta'izz. They interred him therein, and the reciters of the Qur'án chanted over him continuously for seven days, as was customary with princes.

- f. 162<sup>b</sup> And when Melik Náṣir Jelálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Melik 'Eshref heard of the death of his father, and of the assumption of the sovereignty and sway by his uncle, he himself being away at his fief of Qaḥma, he at once set out for the court of his uncle to ask for his commands. And when he reached his uncle, the latter advanced to meet him and received him with great demonstrations of honour. Later on, his brother Melik 'Ádil Ṣaláhu'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of Melik 'Eshref came in also from Ṣan'a', which was his fief. Him also did he treat with gratifying marks of consideration and kindness. He proposed to them both to remain in their respective fiefs; but they both begged to be relieved of their principalities, saying: "We love no service after (that of) our father."
- f. 163<sup>a</sup>
- f. 164<sup>a</sup>

The mediator between the two brothers and the Sultan was the jurist 'Ebú Bekr son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the Yaḥyawite, who took for them from the Sultan a solemn undertaking that he would not make any raid against them or either of them, and also a solemn covenant from them that they would not dispute with him, or either of them contend against him. There existed between the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed and the said jurist 'Ebú Bekr a firm intimacy and a strong friendship. And the Sultan, on whom be God's mercy, used to rely on the opinion of the jurist 'Ebú Bekr in everything that he counselled him. The jurist was a paragon among the men of his time and the learned ones of his epoch. And when those things occurred that we have narrated concerning his overthrow at Da'ís, and the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed was imprisoned in the castle of Ta'izz, the jurist 'Ebú Bekr was grieved with great sorrow for what had befallen him. Word was brought to Melik 'Eshref that the jurist 'Ebú Bekr intended to raise an opposition and to spread trouble. So Melik 'Eshref became distrustful of him.

The jurist was informed of the plot, and wrote to the Sultan a poem in which he said :

*" You long for my slaughter, while I have no design concerning you but safety in all my circumstances.*

*And you say that the genii are obedient to my power. But are the genii subjugated, save to high heaven ?*

*Gently ! For this is the staff of Moses,<sup>933</sup> and its swift creep ;* f. 162b  
*and the tiara of Mundhir, with which is the tiara of 'Itkal.<sup>934</sup>*

*And these stately steeds and guardsmen, all of them ; and this trenchant blade ; and the javelin ; O high one !*

*And these darts, first of possessions, all of them, are the things the keen edge of which repels from the violation of covenants.*

*Surmise thou not, now, that I will invoke God, the Lord of wrath, against thee to perdition ; alas ! far be it from the like of me !* f. 163b

*I have never invoked against anything without regard for propriety ; for I have already clasped the skirts of Tâ-Hâ (Muhammed ; Qur'an, xx, 1).<sup>935</sup>*

*And the Seal of the Apostles (Muhammed) never invoked against a company who vexed him through ignorance ; nor did he ever act unintelligently with the ignorant.<sup>936</sup>*

*But he forsook his home and his kin, emigrating to Medina according to the command (of God), not (man's) word.*

*And after him arose the Faithful One ('Ebú Bekr) as magistrate, until his allotted term expired, through the poison of a plotter.*

*The father ('Aliyy) of Huseyn completed, as his two sons, their term also by poison and by the swords of men gone astray.*

*So, too, the son of 'Ed-hem<sup>937</sup> invoked not, though they had wrought foolishly and poured on the head of him the urine of uriners.*

*And had likened the beard of him, though it had already become regarded with honour by the God in whom we trust, to (that of) an unreasoning ass.*



*But he delayed not, neither did they delay, nor hurry; for, after all, there is no eventuating matter that can be finished by haste.*

rvi<sup>co</sup>

*Who is he among them, thinkest thou, opines that he understands not how there came upon the throne of Bilqis<sup>938</sup> in a moment an invoker of God?*

*And however often you shall obtain satisfaction from me, and shall take revenge, it is not for me to retort with a word, or retaliate by deeds.*

*Decree then whatsoever thou mayest see fit, whether in patience or in haste; for (your) command is nearer to (my) heart than (your) deed.*

*Does he set fire to his prison whom his lord chastises, unless he be a brother of ignorant folly as to the future as well as the present?*<sup>939</sup>

*Two months are not of the things that call for haste. If thou hast heard them, consider the truth of my words.*

*Twenty months have succeeded each other; pass not thou beyond them. And even the end of them will not necessitate completion.*

*And there will enter the house one to whom, in respect of it, counsels from you are not agreeable that invite woes.*

*You have not denied the text and the revelation, and yet thou decreest. Now by the promise of my Lord God, this is not moderation.*

*Hear then what I have said, and take heed thereto with patience; but turn not aside by reason of tittle-tattle.*

*And take it as earnest, not as jest, nor as untruth; for this word is not of the words of jesters."*

And whoever ponders over these distichs will know the powers of the erudite Sheykh as to his acquaintance with learning.

f. 164<sup>a</sup>

rvo

The jurist, after the composition of this poem, set out for a district as a fugitive from Melik 'Eshref, where he dwelt until Melik 'Eshref died. Then, when Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed became

master of the sovereignty and realm, the jurist returned to his city and joined the Sultan, who felt gréat joy at sight of him, and appointed as wezír his brother, the Intimate, Muwaffaqu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer son of the Yahyawite, commonly known as "The Intimate." His wezír<sup>ate</sup> began in the month of Jumádá the first in this year 696 (March, 1297). He instituted for him what was done for the wezírs, such as the uplifting of the inkstand and the binding of the turban. He also conferred upon him the office of Judge of Judges. He was the second in the whole of his affairs, and there was not with him (on the part of the Sultan) any particle of peevishness or ímpatience. His command had free course in the lands, and he gave command for what is seemly, forbidding what is improper; and the Sultan supported him in all this. He had an absolute precedence over others with the Sultan, such as has never been heard of. The title of "Intimate" was given to him in all the cantons of Yemen in an absolutely unqualified manner; so that it became a kind of surname in respect of him, even as was that of the Intimate, the son of 'Ibád,<sup>910</sup> in Babylonia; and all his children, as well as his brothers, were hardly known until they were designated after him, either as his son or his brother.

And when the Sultan appointed him wezír, as we have recounted, at the date given above, the mandate of the Sultan was issued to the Judge Husámu'd-Dín Hassán son of 'Es'ad the 'Imránite for him and his brothers to dwell in Sehfená<sup>911</sup> in all dignity and honour, no circumstance of any kind being altered in their respect. But afterwards there came to the Sultan from Násir, his brother's son, by way of advice, to his uncle, that a slave of the judge Hassán had gone up to the canton of 'Umán,<sup>912</sup> and had found a woman, freed from among the slaves of 'Eshref, who was wife to the judge Bahá'u'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Es'ad, and that he had had a conversation with her, in which he had confided as a secret to her that he had with him a bottle of poison given

f. 164<sup>b</sup>

by his master, the judge Ḥassán son of 'Es'ad, who had commanded him to make himself agreeable to anyone who might approach the person of Melik Mu'eyyed and cause him to drink thereof; also, that the object of the judge, and of the sons of his father, was the total destruction of the sons of Resúl. So, when notice of this reached the Sultan, he became vexed with violent indignation; and he sent for them to render account of the properties of orphans and revenues of trust estates in mortmain for the period when they were the guardians thereof. But they obeyed him not on any point of this matter at any time. So he had them publicly arrested, and he built for them a prison over the gate of the house of the local government as a precaution against their evil designs.

*"And whosoever consorts long with the world, it changes in his sight, so that he sees that its truth is a lie."*

rvv

Now there had been in the heart of the Sultan, on account of the two sons of 'Er-Demir, Nejmu'd-Dín and Bedru'd-Dín, as also on account of the son of the Hekkárite,<sup>913</sup> a rancour ever since the day of Da'ís. So he gave orders for them to be surrounded. They were seized, and he sent them to the castle of Dumluwa. After that, he seized also, next to them, the 'Emír of the Jándár<sup>944</sup> guards, whom he placed with them in the house of detention at Dumluwa.

And in the interval of these events envoys of the Sherífs came to the Sultan to congratulate him on his sovereignty and to arrange for peace. For they had, immediately on the death of 'Eshref, on whom be God's mercy, taken possession of Kewla and burnt it; they had also taken the two castles of Lijám<sup>945</sup> and Na'mán,<sup>946</sup> as also the city of Şa'da. And on those bases did they conclude peace. The 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yahyá was then encamped against Kehlán<sup>947</sup> on Mount Sheref, and the Sherífs asked him to enter with them into the treaty of peace and to withdraw the leaguer.

But he commanded them to make peace for their homes, and ceased not to besiege the castle until he took it.

And in this year A.H. 696 (A.D. 1296-7) Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed went down to Zebíd, his descent being in the month of Jumádá the first, after that he had conferred on his son Mudhaffer the fief of Şan'á', and on (his son) Dháfir those of Qahriyya<sup>948</sup> and Jázibán.<sup>949</sup> Melik Mudhaffer set out for Şan'á' in (the month of) Rejeb of the year (May, 1297), and obtained restitution of the castle of Wedd<sup>950</sup> from the Benú'l-Háarith people in the latter part of (the month of) Sha'bán (June), after having lapidated it with the ballista. rva

The Sultan returned to Ta'izz<sup>951</sup> in Sha'bán, and performed his fast in the city of Ta'izz. Melik Mudhaffer came down from San'á' in the beginning of the second half of Ramađán, the reason of his descent being the Festival. So he performed the festival in Ta'izz, and then returned to his fief.

The Sultan obtained restitution of the castles of Hájja in (the month of) Dhú'l-Hijja, and took Mikhláfa from Şárim 'Ibráhím son of Yúsuf son of Mansúr, which had been in his possession since the year A.H. 691 (A.D. 1292). But Şárim made conditions; among these were the concession as a fief of Mewza'<sup>952</sup> with the half of Hays, a general amnesty, and pardon for whatever offences he had committed.

And in this year A.H. 696 (A.D. 1296-7) Melik Mes'úd broke out in open rebellion against his brother the Sultan. He was holder in fief of the dependencies constituting the (vale of) Surdud,<sup>953</sup> and resident therein. He first made an attack upon Maḥálíb,<sup>954</sup> then he advanced and marched to Haraḍ,<sup>955</sup> of which he took possession. His son, 'Esedu'l-'Islám Muḥammed son of Ḥasan, had previously presented himself to his uncle the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed when he was in the city of Ta'izz; and he showed him honour and kindness, confirming his father in his fief. So when Melik Mes'úd rebelled against his brother and marched to Haraḍ, he collected forces, and the Sherífs of the Suleymániyya branch<sup>956</sup> came to him, while horsemen fell away to him from the mountains f. 165a rvi

and the low vale beyond, in great numbers. Thus there was gathered together with him a large army.

The Sultan now equipped, to do battle with him, his brother Melik Maṣṣūr 'Eyyúb son of Yúsuf, and his own wezír, the judge Muwaḥḥaqu'd - Dín the Intimate; also his own son Dháfir 'Ísá son of Melik Mu'eyyed. He sent with them also three elephants<sup>957</sup> So they marched towards him with a goodly array of troops of the court.

And in this year A.H. 696 (A.D. 1296-7) died the erudite jurist 'Ebú'l-Ḥasan 'Aliyy son of 'Umer son of 'Ismá'il son of Zeyd son of Yahyá the 'Uzeyrite by title, the Sha'bíte by family. He was a jurist learned in the two fundamental systems of jurisprudence, and also in the works branching out therefrom, in syntax and in lexicography. He was from a people out of the 'Esh'úb<sup>958</sup> tribe, called Benú'sh-Shá'ir (sons of the poet), from a branch-clan named Benú 'Ahmed, some of whom dwell in Sámigh<sup>959</sup> and some in 'Iknít.<sup>960</sup> He studied jurisprudence, was noble-minded, elevated in his aims, and much respected by the people of his town, as well as by others. He was brave in war, enterprising, and a great runner. It is said, in respect of his running, that when he ran after an antelope in the open country he would catch it in the race of fleetness. He used to indite charming poetry. He had enemies who used to  
 128 raid against him in considerable masses, seeking to kill him and to spoil his house; but he would sally out against them, engage them, and rout them single-handed. Sometimes he would kill or wound some among them. He used to receive honourably and treat with kindness those who came to him. His death, God's mercy on him, took place in Jumádá the first of the year 696 (March, 1297).

(f. 165<sup>b</sup>)

f. 166<sup>a, b</sup>

And in the year A.H. 697 (A.D. 1297-8) Melik Mes'úd marched, and such forces as were with him, collected from the lower Mikhláf, together with those who had joined him from among the people of the hollow vale country and others besides, intending to go to Maḥálíb. The Mu'eyyediyyan forces of

the Sultan met them face to face, under Melik Dháfir 'Ísá son of Melik Mu'eyyed, and under the Intimate, 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed the Yahyawite, between Maḥálib and Haraḍ. But when the two forces came within sight of each other, and both sides were preparing to do battle, Melik Mes'úd perceived that he was discomfited beyond all hope. He therefore sued for peace before the cavalry encounter. The forces of the Sultan seized him, therefore, together with his son 'Esedu'l-Islám. This occurred in Muḥarrem of the year (October–November, 1297). They were conducted to the sacred secluded abode of the Sultan, who uttered reproaches against them, and sent them to dwell in the house of correction in the castle of Ta'ízz. They resided there a certain space, after which he set them free, commanding them to dwell at Hays, and assigning to them a handsome allowance, to support them both, with those who were with them, dependants and attendants.

*"Generosities, by which the protector shows his surrounding benevolence to the recipient thereof, and which confer an inheritance of grandeur after abasement."*

And in the month of Šafer in this year (November–December, 1297) Melik Mudhaffer came down to resign (his fief of) Šan'a', which he had not entered, having merely sojourned in Dhemár.

In the month of Rebí' the first, the Sheríf Suleymán son of Muḥammed son of Suleymán son of Músá was murdered. They who slew him were his own slaves in the Hot Valley ('el-Wádi'l-Hárr).<sup>961</sup>

In the month of Rebí' the latter the 'Emír Seyfu'd - Dín Ṭuḡhríl went up to lay siege to the castle of Shakháb.<sup>962</sup> So he placed a force against it, and seized a number of the Sheykhhs of (the great tribe of) Medh-hij.

And there fell, in the latter part of one night in the month of the latter Jumádá, the same being the night preceding a Saturday (March–April, 1298), a torrent of vehement rain, in the district and entire country of Yemen. It began as

midnight went by, and it was accompanied with violent thunder and a very high wind. The bulk of the rain fell in the low coast-land; so much so that it was said it carried away ships from the seashore of Sherja<sup>963</sup> and of 'Ehwáb,<sup>964</sup> with whatever was in them, casting them ashore. It demolished towering castles on the hills of the Tiháma, and tore up great trees by the roots. The author, on whom be the mercy of God, has said: "I surmise that it was the same which has been called 'The Rainfall of the Saturday'; for this was celebrated and much spoken of, having occurred towards the end of the seventh century (of the Hijra), and few are they who witnessed it now alive in this our present time, the year A.H. 790 (A.D. 1388), but I was contemporary with a number of those who witnessed it, though they have all passed away now, by reason of the lapse of time."

And in the month of Sha'bán, the 'Emír Jemálu'd - Dín 'Aliyy son of Behráw went up to Me'rib and repaired Khazma,<sup>965</sup> restoring its affairs to what they were on the best of legal bases.

In the month of Ramaḍán died the 'Imám Muṭahher son of Yaḥyá in the Derwán of Hajja.<sup>966</sup>

And in the second half of the said month of Ramaḍán Melik Mudhaffer went up to Ṣan'á', the Sultan having already equipped a force towards Hajja. With it were the marshal of his household, the great 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Umer son of Míká'il, and also the jurist Sherefu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Aliyy the Juneyd, to camp against the son of the Ṣulayḥiyy in Yumeyn, and against 'Umer son of Yúsuf in Dhafer. They surrendered the two castles and came down on amnesty. Afterwards, the supreme cortége proceeded to the upper countries, on the occasion of the refusal of the Sherífs to conclude a peace. Its entry into Ṣan'á' took place on the 25th Dhú'l-Qa'da of the year 697 (about 3rd September, 1298). It next went up to Dháhir on the 14th Dhú'l-Hijja (22nd September). The ascent was on the day the dawn of which was marked as following a lunar eclipse. A poet has said :

*" With (personal) felicity the star has no influence ; therefore Mars will not injure thee, nor Saturn."*

And when the Sultan had taken up his quarters in the camp on the Sunday, he marched on the Monday with his forces towards Míqá', which he fought against, and then returned to his camp. Now the 'Emír 'Ibnu Wehhás and the Sheykh Qásim son of Maṣṣúr lord of Thulá had broken with their associates, the Sherífs, and had come in to the Sultan before he went up to Dháhir. Then there went forth, with the sons of the Sheykh Qásim son of Maṣṣúr, the 'Emír 'Alemu'd - Dín Qásim son of Ḥamza and the 'Emír Šárim 'Ibráhím son of Yúsuf son of Maṣṣúr, with an army to the countries of Ḥimyer<sup>967</sup> and Ṭarf, to wage war against the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín. The Sultan remained with his forces a space of eighteen days, in the course of which his troops entered Ša'da, under command of the 'Emír Jemálu'd - Dín 'Aliyy son of Behráṃ and the 'Emír 'Esedu'd - Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of 'Izzu'd - Dín. There had negotiated for them the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Músá son of 'Aḥmed, the 'Emír 'Aḥmed son of 'Aliyy, and the Sheríf Muḥammed Ḥádí. And when their forces had separated, the 'Emír Músá went down to his castle, 'Azzán, upon which the troops devastated his house and his garden.

f. 167<sup>b</sup>f. 168<sup>a</sup>(f. 168<sup>a</sup>)

In the year A.H. 698 (A.D. 1298-9) the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed marched on the first day of Muḥarrem (8th October, 1298) from his camp to the borders of Dháhir, and halted there eight days. He next advanced to Jumrán,<sup>968</sup> where also he halted eight days ; proceeding then, and encamping in Lower Dháhir, having already devastated the house of the 'Emír Humámu'd-Dín and also a garden of his. He then marched to the mountain of Dhafár, where the Sherífs prepared themselves to do battle with him. So he burnt the vineyards that were round about it. The 'Emír Muḥammed son of Dáwúd son of the 'Imám came in to him, remaining with him several days, and dying in his camp.

f. 168<sup>b</sup>



About this same date the Sheríf and Seyyid Muḥammed son of Hádí, known as the Qutábarite, came and joined the Sherífs. They proposed to promote him to be 'Imám; but he was modest, and refused the offer.

When Monday the 3rd of Şafer (10th November, 1298) was come, the Sultan marched from his camp, and passed the night at Kewla, where he remained the Tuesday, marching on Wednesday, and camping at the pavilion near 'Eshyah,<sup>969</sup> where he stayed Thursday, and resumed his march on Friday the 7th of Şafer. He encamped against Míqá' with his troops and his levies. His forces filled the whole of those localities, spreading abroad over the cantons. When Saturday the 8th Şafer (15th November) was come, he set up a ballista against the castle, which he besieged straitly. It then belonged to the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, who was not in it at the time, but only his son, the Sheríf 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy.<sup>970</sup> The divinely aided forces rushed against the castle three days in succession. The 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh then wrote to all the Sherífs successive letters demanding succour from them; but they answered him evasively, and excused themselves on the plea of inability.

When matters became serious he wrote a letter suggesting peace, upon which proposals and references ensued. It was decided that the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín should have an interview with the Intimate Muwaffaqu'd-Dín. So he went to him, and it happened that Melik Manşúr and Melik Mudhaffer were present. They all assembled together, and the whole of them proceeded to the sacred presence of the Sultan. When information reached the Sultan, on whom be God's mercy, that the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh was coming, he mounted his horse from his tent to meet him, he being already close at hand. He received him with honour and kindness, and peace was concluded between them, he obtaining for the Sherífs a truce of seven months, and surrendering, without resource, the castle of Dheyfán,<sup>971</sup> because the Sultan refused to grant an amnesty to its people.

When he had settled down in the camp, he requested of the Sultan that the sacred banners should enter the castle as a sign of his submission and surrender. They were therefore hoisted on the highest point of the castle and also of 'Adhíma,<sup>972</sup> so that their streamers fluttered on the highest pinnacles of both castles. And when peace was thus settled, and the Sultan had taken possession of the two castles aforesaid, 'Adhíma and Míqá', then did the Sultan, whom may God assoil, who be extolled, show a very great degree of favour to the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, and banished from him what was on his mind, renewing for him the assignment of a military band, and presenting him with a large amount of money and vestments. The whole of these arrived at Míqá', and he went forth to take up the robe of honour indicative of satisfaction, accompanied by a procession with military music under the flutterings of the leonine ('Aliyyide) banners. He gave him back his countries which he had in his possession, and on the first day of the month of the first Rebí' the Sultan broke up from his camp and returned to Şan'á'. Thus hath said the Sheríf 'Idrís: "And I too journeyed in his suite with my father as far as Bewn, whence I went back; for I had come forth to him in the camp of Míqá', where he received me kindly and with honour, ordering for me a handsome gift in money, beautiful vestments, and a stallion of pure race."

(f. 169<sup>b</sup>)f. 170<sup>a</sup>

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And when the Sultan had settled down in Şan'á', the 'Emírs of the Sherífs came in to him, and the Sheykhs of the Arabs. Among them were the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Aliyy son of Músá son of the 'Imám, for the completion of the peace with the Sherífs. This was concluded on the basis of the surrender of Lijám, Na'mán, Şa'da, and a portion of the district of Mida', as things were in the days of the Khalífa. Harbingers went forth with tidings of the territories of which he obtained possession.

The Sultan now took his departure, his face turned towards the alcove of bliss in the city of Ta'izz, having in his suite

f. 170<sup>b</sup> the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh, the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Aliyy son of Músá son of the 'Imám, the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Wehḥás, and the 'Emírs of the Arabs, the lands and the people yielding obedience to him. He remained in Ta'izz four months, in the course of which was born unto the Sultan his son Melik Sa'id, of the princess Keríma, daughter of the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl. A great festivity was made for him; but, at the termination of its continuance, he died after a few days, and it was as the poet has expressed it:

*"How short was the life of that star! And so with the life of the star of the day dawns!*

۲۸۸ *And the crescent of the days that have passed away did not become round as a full-moon; nor did it delay for the time of disappearance."*

The Sultan then went to Zebíd in the month of the latter Jumádá of this year 698 (February, 1299), accompanied by the 'Emírs of the Sherífs and the Sheykhhs of the Arabs. He entered the city of Zebíd with his army, and remained there during the month of the venerated Sha'bán, but performed the fast of Ramaḍán in the city of Ta'izz, where also he held the festival of fast-breaking. The 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh took leave of him on the day of the festival, as they were both seated at a meal. He set out for his own country in (the month of) Shewwál (July, 1299).

The Sheríf 'Idrís has related in his book the following: "We were talking over, in the presence of my father, on whom be God's mercy, the kindness of the Sultan towards him, and what he had bestowed on him in the day of his departure from Míqá' on the last day of Şafer until he parted from him on the day of the new moon of Shewwál. We computed it in round numbers, not accurately, and it was more than seventy thousand ducats of the royal mint, besides vestments, horses, commodities, and furniture, with the like thereof."

*"These are generositys, not two bowls of milk sky-blue with water, which turns afterwards to urinings."*

And in the month of Dhú'l-Qa'da, Melik Mudhaffer Hasan son of Dáwúd set out for his fief at Šan'á'; for he had come down with his father on the day of his descent. His entry into Šan'á' was on the Monday, 13th Dhú'l-Qa'da of the year (about 1st August, 1299), and he remained there until the last day of Dhú'l-Hijja (26th September).

The royal court proceeded to 'Aden in the end of Shewwál, and remained there until the end of Dhú'l-Hijja. He held the festival of sacrifice there, and the banquet was served in vessels under the sight of the Sultan on the shore of the sea. The poets arose in the banquet with all kinds of panegyrics, while the merchants resident in the fortress offered choice gifts, as is usual with princes. The Sultan refused them, and commanded the distribution of robes of honour to them, and diplomas of rank, together with riding mules of choice breed, fully caparisoned with gold-embroidered saddles and variously decorated surcingles. The ship-captains from India observed their own ceremonial; and he gave orders for the honourable treatment of the ship-captains and the merchants who frequented the fortified frontier haven, commanding also the abolition of the security payable on the house of friendship. He set up by his goodness the fair of justice, and set up the fair for horses from the gate of the royal stable. The Kárimiyya<sup>973</sup> ship-captains and merchants went away each flying the flag of his equity in their various cities, while the frontier fortified port itself smiled under his words. He returned and went back to the city of Ta'izz.

In the year A.H. 699 (A.D. 1299-1300) Melik Mudhaffer took the castle of 'Arás<sup>974</sup> with the sword by assault, having previously captured the castle of 'Erbáb, both of which had belonged to the 'Ismá'liyya<sup>975</sup> faction. A great public rejoicing was organized at Šan'á' for this event, its cathedral mosque being dressed out with all kinds of draperies. The

f. 171<sup>a</sup>f. 171<sup>a</sup>f. 171<sup>b</sup>(f. 172<sup>a</sup>, b)f. 173<sup>a</sup>

f. 174

'Emír of the city gave orders for the shops and markets to be dressed out; and public cursing of the 'Ismá'iliyya sect took place.

And in this year 699 died the great 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥasan son of Ḥamza son of Suleymán son of Ḥamza, in his castle of Míqá'. He was one of the heads of the Sherífs, and one of their chiefs, notables, and rulers. His age was 70 and odd. His son has proverbially likened him to what is described in the words of Ziyád surnamed 'A'jem (the Mute or Mutterer; or, the Persian or Foreigner), where he sings :

*"Mughtra<sup>976</sup> has died, after long offering himself to slaughter among the spear-heads and the sword-blades."*

And when the Sheríf Jemálu'd-Dín was dead, his family unanimously decided to raise to the chieftainship his son 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís. This Sheríf 'Idrís was one of the most distinguished of men, possessing united in himself all the qualities of perfection. He was a horseman and a bold, enterprising leader; he was erudite, intelligent, wise, and sagacious, munificent, generous, honest, clement, versed in many different sciences relative both to prose and to verse. He was the author of the book named "Treasury of the Wise as to Dates and Notices";<sup>977</sup> and to him belong other instructive compilations besides, especially historical. And when his father died he wrote to the Sultan, informing his gracious recollection that he was a fruit of the tree his gifts had planted, and a shoot from the stock his liberalities had watered. Shukr son of 'Aliyy the Qásimite proceeded to the sacred court to represent matters for him to the Sultan. To him he gave a written instruction to present himself at court and send him a safe-conduct from the Sultan. When the royal safe-conduct reached him he proceeded to the sacred court, where he arrived at the end of Dhú'l-Qa'da of this year 699, the Sultan being then at Thu'bát. He was

f. 173<sup>b</sup>

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called to the hall of audience to pay homage, and the Sultan received him with perfect welcome, honour, and distinction. It happened that the festival of sacrifice was at hand, and a sacred mandate was issued to the marshal of the divinely assisted forces that the parade ground should be opened by none other but him, before the whole of the 'Emírs and principal dignitaries of the realm. And so it was. Then, when the festival was gone by, there ensued a conference for the surrender of what was under his rule by way of castles, there being so possessed by him those of 'Adhíma and Míqá'. He saw that their surrender would be a title of safety; for, in his opinion, that was equity; so he, fearing lest he might be put under arrest, turned his mind to compliance.

And in the year A.H. 700 (A.D. 1300-1) the Sultan received possession of the castles held by the Sherif 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy, on the 16th of Muḥarrem (1st October, 1300), when the Sultan commanded that all things should be observed as had been usual towards his father. A military band was therefore conferred upon him and banners. He further ordered for him a present of nine thousand ducats, rarities, vestments, horses, and slaves. He then rode on horseback with the 'Emírs and troops in the royal service under the flutterings of the Sultan's banners coming or going. He returned to his quarters accompanied by an escort of divinely assisted troops, who were admitted to a banquet magnificently laid out with viands of various savour and hues. He also received a patent for the fief of the city of Qahma.

f. 174<sup>a</sup>

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After this the supreme cavalcade set out for the low seaboard country, its departure from Ta'izz taking place on Saturday, 3rd of Şafer (17th October, 1300). When he had entered Zebíd he abode there until some days of the first Rebí' had elapsed, and then he set out for the Surdud districts, entering Mehjem with a thousand horsemen of his forces, where he was congratulated by a number of the poets of his realm.

f. 174<sup>b</sup>

The Sultan remained at Mehjem for a few days, returning

f. 175<sup>a</sup>

thence to Zebíd, while the divinely assisted troops proceeded to the country of the Ma'áziba Arabs, by reason of certain disorders committed by them. He slew of them a considerable number, and spoiled their possessions with severity. They gave hostages, and these he left in Zebíd. The Sultan proceeded to the village of date-palms in the early days of the month of Rejeb (March, 1301), remaining there several days.

When he set out to go up to Ta'izz, his son Melik Dháfir proceeded to Şan'a' as its holder in fief. The tribesmen met him in the defile of Şayd,<sup>978</sup> and he attacked the people of Minqada<sup>979</sup> in an especial manner, taking their horses from them by reason of what they had done. He then journeyed  
 191\* to Ridá,<sup>980</sup> and next to Dhemár, entering Şan'a' at length in the last decade of Ramaḍán. The Sultan journeyed from Zebíd, with the intention of going to Ta'izz, in the middle of Rejeb (about 1st April, 1301).

In the latter days of this year 700 (August–September, 1301), written communications took place between the Sultan and the Sherífs by reason of events that had occurred on the part of the 'Emír Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of Músá son of 'Aḥmed, and of the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of Yahyá. The Sultan, in consequence, moved to Jened and ordered up all the royal camel-trains from the sea-coast countries. The 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ṭughríl, the chamberlain, proceeded to Dhemár, and the Sultan prepared to ascend to the upper countries. The judge,  
 f. 175<sup>b</sup> (Muḥammed) the Dhemárite, then came in with hostages from the Sherífs and with a conclusion of peace that satisfied the Sultan.

f. 175<sup>a</sup> In the year A.H. 701 (A.D. 1301–2) the Sultan journeyed from Jened to Dumluwa, where he remained twenty days and then returned to Ta'izz. He again resolved on ascending to the upper countries. So he summoned the Sheríf 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy from Qaḥma. When he reached Ta'izz information came in that the Sherífs, the Benú 'Aliyy, lords of the Mikhláf-Suleymániyy,<sup>981</sup> had murdered

the commandant Khaṭilbá, and had seized forty horsemen of its garrison. He had been stationed at Ráḥa<sup>982</sup> with a hundred horsemen. So the command of the Sultan went forth to the Sherif 'Idrís, ordering him to advance towards them. He attached to him a force of the divinely assisted body-guard, and also the collector of Zebíd, 'Aḥmed son of the Khirtabirtite, together with the 'Emír governing at Ḥaraḍ. So the divinely aided forces marched to Ráḥa, and entered it by assault in the latter end of the month of Sha'bán (April, 1302). The rebels went forth in flight, the troops pursuing them towards Lu'lu'a.<sup>983</sup> The force destroyed by fire the villages of the evildoers, who then begged for quarter and an amnesty. They offered also to restore the horses they had captured at Ráḥa. The Sultan's lieutenant, the Sherif 'Aliyy son of Suleymán son of 'Aliyy, received possession of Ráḥa, and the divinely aided force returned on its way to the sacred court of the Sultan.

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In the latter Jumádá (February, 1302) the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ṭughríl had a fight with the Jaḥáfil and 'Ajálim<sup>984</sup> tribes, he being then holder of Lahj as his fief, and killed of them about forty men. He had a second encounter with them afterwards, and slew about ninety of their men.

In the latter part of Sha'bán of this same year 701 (April, 1302) the Sultan ascended to the upper countries, stopping several days at Jened, several more at 'Mewsá'a, and again some days at Ṣan'á'. Thence he set out for Dháhir, going up by the defile of 'Ujeyb.<sup>985</sup> The reason that necessitated his ascent was that which was done by the two 'Emírs Músá and Táju'd-Dín in time of peace by their devastating Ta'izz<sup>986</sup> and Qunna;<sup>987</sup> then the proclamation of himself as 'Imám by the son of Muṭahher, with his gathering together with the Sherifs in Jewb, and his advancing to Ṭarf; also, the descent of the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín to Hajja of Mikhláfa. The Benú Sháwir<sup>988</sup> and others of the Arabs had already taken an oath of fealty to him. He therefore set fire to 'Árida,<sup>989</sup> and then turned back.

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f. 176b



When the Sultan had ascended by the defile of 'Ujeyb, the 'Emír Músá son of 'Aḥmed confronted him there, and the 'Emír 'Abdu'lláh son of Wehḥás. So the Sultan ascended the mountain of Dḥafár<sup>990</sup> by means of the mountain Ṣubḥ,<sup>991</sup> and took possession of Qunna<sup>992</sup> on the Tuesday the last day of Ramaḍán (May, 1302), camping there with his entire force. Early on the Wednesday morning he marched, and a portion of his troops went down and fought a battle in the irrigation channel, where a chief officer of Melik Maṣṣúr's household was killed. The Sultan then turned back, and by climbing attained to a commanding position above Dḥafár, in the direction next to Qáhir<sup>993</sup> on its west, towards Qunna. There he remained eight days, and set about its restoration. A severe state of suffering befell the troops there, through lack of water and provisions. A bucketful went up to the price of ten pieces of silver, and one Zebíd pint(?) of flour the same. But when the Sultan had ascertained the privations of the troops he gave orders for the removal of the camp to Werwer,<sup>994</sup> placing in garrison at Qunna the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Músá son of 'Aḥmed, and at Ta'izz a certain Ḥusám son of Mes'úd son of Táhír. This is the ancient castle that was dismantled by Suleymán son of Qásim. He gave orders to restore both those places, and set up a ballista in Ta'izz which battered them, causing extreme damage. The battering and the siege were incessant, and battle after battle was fought from time to time below the 'Gate of Aid'<sup>995</sup> between the men of the camp and the people of Dḥafár. A calamity now befell the camp, and a great number of camels died, more especially. The price of provisions sometimes cheapened, so that a Zebíd peck(?) cost only four pieces of silver, while at other times it became dear and would reach the price of seven pieces of silver. Then he would enjoin on the troops to muster and engage in fight. The leonine kettledrums would be beaten, the Sultan's banners would flutter in guise of flashing lightnings.

The 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Suleymán son of Qásim saw that,

should matters continue in this fashion, it would result in the ruin of his territories. He therefore had recourse to policy in the affair. He sent forth the sons of his brother with a company of the Sherífs to the outside of the rampart of Dháfár near to the 'Gate of Khayber,'<sup>996</sup> his wezír 'Aliyy son of Duhrúj being with them. He shouted out, at the top of his voice, that the 'Emír and the Sherífs begged that the Sultan would draw near to them, when they all would serve him and say: "We are the slaves of the Sultan." The son of Duhrúj then asked for a safe-conduct, with which he might present himself at the tented camp. This was accorded. So he went down and stood respectfully in the presence of the Sultan. The matter was then settled on condition that the Sheríf Suleymán son of Qásim should sell to the Sultan the castle of Telmuş<sup>997</sup> for fifty thousand ducats, giving as hostages for this the two sons of his brother, Muḥammed and Dáwúd, as well as his wezír 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed son of Duhrúj; that the Sultan should dismantle Ta'izz, lately restored above Dháfár, as also Qunna; and that the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín should surrender the castle of Ḥadda,<sup>998</sup> with Ḥuqúb,<sup>999</sup> dismantling the castle of Shureyb,<sup>1000</sup> and that he should remove to the Mida'<sup>1001</sup> country, retaining something of his present territories and giving his son as hostage.

They who were about the Sultan deemed this a commendable arrangement, as the Sultan would doubtless obtain possession of Şa'da, while the hostages would be guarantees for fidelity to the engagements. The Sultan consented to it, therefore, and received the hostages, after having proclaimed his goodwill towards them; he also sent up to them the stipulated amount of treasure. He equipped the jurist Şherefud-Dín 'Ahmed son of 'Aliyy the Juneydite with troops to take possession of Telmuş, the Sheríf Suleymán son of Qásim sending as envoy with them one of his trusty men. So they all proceeded to Şa'da, while the Sultan held the festival of the sacrifice at Werwer. The poets had remained behind by reason of the distance of the difficult way, so that none

r1v

f. 177<sup>a</sup>

r1a

f. 177<sup>b</sup> of them were present but the erudite Sábiqu'd-Dín Yúsuf the 'Ansité, who on the day of the festival recited a fine poem. The jurist 'Affu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of Ja'fer, too, sent his poem to the camp at Werwer.

f. 178<sup>a</sup> And when the Friday was come, the 15th Shewwál (about 15th July, 1302), the Sultan broke up from the camp at Werwer, and marched towards Ĥurthán,<sup>1002</sup> which he assaulted on the 18th, the troops fighting vehemently. The Shefálít<sup>1003</sup> men reached the gate of the castle, where a cut and thrust struggle took place. The Shefálít men took down what was broken, and the people of the castle destroyed what was borne. The Shefálít men returned to the combat, but found all in ruins. Had it been otherwise, little was wanted for its capture. There were killed a certain number of the troops, shot with Arabian arrows; among them the 'Emír Muḥammed son of the Sha'bíte. The Sultan then gave orders for a camp to be formed against them, with the erection of a ballista. He stayed there eight days, and then journeyed to Şan'á, leaving in the camp against Ĥurthán the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Abbás son of Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'l-Jelíl.

r<sup>11</sup> In this year 701 died the great 'Emír, the Sheríf 'Ebú Numeyy Muḥammed son of 'Ebú Sa'd son of 'Aliyy son of Qatáda the Ḥasanite, lord of Mekka, which God guard, who be extolled. He was a great 'Emír, who had long been in the enjoyment of the 'Emírship, fond of literature and of listening to it. He performed liberalities to poets who had recourse to him by letting loose their imaginations in the racecourses of poems.

f. 178<sup>b</sup>

When the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed came to the sovereignty, he equipped in the year A.H. 696 his divinely aided banner and a sacred litter of pilgrimage under the escort of the Qá'id 'Ibnu Záki. The Sheríf 'Ebú Numeyy received him with honour and distinction, so that the streamers of the divinely aided banner fluttered on the Mount of Recognition on (the day of) 'Arafa<sup>1004</sup> (eve of the Festival of Sacrifice), when his mu'ezzin proclaimed the titles of the Sultan above the heads of those

present, from the alcove of (the well) Zemzem,<sup>1005</sup> so that those qualities were heard of by whomsoever that sacred spot embraced. He swore the most solemn oaths of fealty to the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed, taking hold of the upper part of his shirt with both his hands, as the custom runs.

There came to the said Sheríf what the beneficences of the Sultan necessitated of that which the Khalífa had appointed, in money, provisions, vestments, perfumes, musk, lign-aloes, ambergris, alum of all colours, and splendid robes of honour.<sup>1006</sup> The amount of the coin was eighty thousand pieces of silver; that of the corn, four hundred quarts. His 'Emírship over Mekka and its environs lasted more than fifty years. There were born to him more than twenty sons, and his sons split up into factions after him, the Sherífs and their leaders taking the different sides of his sons. A portion of them sided with Rumeythā and Humeẏḏa, while another faction took part with 'Ebú'l-Ghayth and 'Uṭayfa. Rumeythā and Humeẏḏa became more powerful than 'Ebú'l-Ghayth and 'Uṭayfa, both of whom they seized. These two remained in the prison of the former two a certain space of time, when they devised a plan, got out, and took refuge in one of the houses of the leaders and Sherífs, who gave them both an asylum.

When the Egyptian caravan of pilgrims arrived 'Ebú'l-Ghayth went out to meet them, and they took sides with him. When the assembly of pilgrims dispersed, the Egyptian 'Emír of the Pilgrim-Caravan laid hands on the two Sherífs Rumeythā and Humeẏḏa, he being at that time the great 'Emír Ruknu'd-Dín Beybars. He took them both with him in chains to Egypt, appointing as 'Emírs in Mekka Muḥammed son of 'Idrís and 'Ebú'l-Ghayth, whom he caused to take an oath of fealty to the lord of Egypt. The two remained thus for a certain interval, after which the Sheríf 'Ebú'l-Ghayth expelled Muḥammed son of 'Idrís from Mekka. Matters became serious; battles were fought between the two frequently, and in these a number of the Sherífs were slain.

The Sheríf 'Ebú'l-Ghayth now wrote to the Sultan Melik

Mu'eyyed, with the offer of submission, service, and fidelity. He sent an hostage, and the Sultan accepted the offer from him.

1301  
f. 179<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 702 (A.D. 1302-3) the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed, on whom may God have mercy, equipped the Sheríf 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy, who laid waste Jáhiliyya<sup>1007</sup> and Raḥába. He also equipped the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Abbás son of Muḥammed to the mountain of the tent-dwellers (Ḥashem), whose crops he destroyed.

The Sultan had taken hostages from the Sherífs when he proposed to break up from his camp at Werwer. These were the two 'Emírs, Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of Qásim and his brother, the 'Emír Dáwúd son of 'Aḥmed son of Qásim, the Sheykh 'Aliyy son of Duḥrúj and his son, together with the judge 'Aḥmed the Dhemárite. He had also equipped the jurist Sherefu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of 'Aliyy the Juneydite to receive possession of the castle of Telmuş, the Sherífs sending forth with him an envoy of their own, as we have recounted. But the people of the castle refused to surrender it, and delivered it to the Sheríf 'Ebú Sultán. The Sheríf Shukr journeyed to the Sherífs at Dháfár to complete what they had stipulated as to the surrender of the castle of Telmuş, and he remained with them a season. There then came a letter from him asking for the dispatch of the 'Emír Muḥammed son of Hátim; and him the Sultan sent also to them.

In the midst of all this the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ṭuḡhríl arrived from his fief at Laḥj; upon which the Sultan conferred on him Şan'á' as his fief. This occurred in the second half of Şafer (October, 1302). The 'Emír Shukr and the 'Emír Muḥammed son of Hátim remained at Dháfár a certain space of time, and then both came back to the Sultan with a truce for six months, against further hostages given by the Sherífs. Prolonged negotiations ensued upon this point, and the Sultan became extremely angry. He therefore equipped the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ṭuḡhríl and the 'Emír 'Ibnu Wehhás, who encamped in Werwer. They had with them the Sheykh Muḥammed son of 'Aliyy son of Duḥrúj in custody. He had tendered his services

f. 180<sup>a</sup>

and fidelity, having guaranteed to the Sultan the capture of Dhafár in eight days.

When they had reached Werwer they sent out a force and took possession of Qunna,<sup>1008</sup> which they began to restore. The blockading camp remained at Werwer. A severe scarcity befell these countries, so that a Zebíd measure reached in the camp the price of four ducats, and even more than this. Many districts were deserted by their inhabitants; they died of starvation, and the very clay soils were sold at a very low price. The scarcity was universal over the whole of Yemen, plain and rocky.

The Sheríf 'Ebú Sulṭán remained in Telmuş. The 'Emírs (deserted to) 'Izzu'd-Dín, and the people of Şa'da returned from Felela.<sup>1009</sup> The Sultan equipped the 'Emír Nejmu'd-Dín Músá son of 'Aḥmed to Şa'da to put its affairs in order. He also equipped the 'Emír 'Abbás son of Muḥammed with a force to the country of the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín, to make war on him. The Sherífs seized the judge Muḥammed the Dhémárite, and took whatever they found in his house.

In the month of Rejeb there fell in the district of Şan'á' violent rains, but prices remained as they were. At Dhafár there entered through this rain such quantity as to fill the homesteads. The leaguer of Telmuş and Dhafár ceased not, while the dearth increased until the Zebíd peck of flour rose to thirty pieces of silver in the camp.

In the latter days of Rejeb the people demanded that peace should be made on condition of the return of the money paid for Telmuş. They paid down on account of it sixteen thousand (ducats) together with silk and jewels for twelve thousand more, obtaining a delay for the remainder until the 10th of Shewwál, giving as hostages for it the two sons of the 'Emír 'Aḥmed son of Qásim and the castle of Mudára,<sup>1010</sup> by the hand of the 'Emír Wehhás. The Benú Duḥrúj took away their families from Dhafár and took up their abode in Şan'á'. The 'Emír Táju'd-Dín surrendered the castle of Ḥadda, and gave his son as a hostage with the pledge delivered by the 'Emír Süleymán son

of Qásim. Peace was concluded between the Sultan and the lords of Dhafár with Táju'd-Dín on condition that the Sultan should dismantle Telmuş and then do what he liked with it without offence being taken.

f. 180<sup>b</sup>  
 1342 And in this year A.H. 702 (A.D. 1302-3) the Sultan, on whom be God's mercy, conferred Lahj as a fief upon the Sherif 'Imádu'd - Dín 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy, when Ṭughríl removed thence in the former Rebí' of the year (November, 1302). He therefore journeyed thither and arrived there on the 4th of the latter Rebí' (about 1st December). The Jaháfil tribesmen had collected bodies of men and formed a camp at Şa'id.<sup>1011</sup> But when the Sherif 'Imádu'd-Dín arrived at Da'ís<sup>1012</sup> they broke up from their camp. The troops rode after them and overtook a party, among whom was Yúsuf son of Midaqqa, whom they slew, and whose head they cut off. The Jaháfil remained after this for a space in Suheyb,<sup>1013</sup> making predatory excursions to the sea-coast and elsewhere. The Sherif 'Imádu'd-Dín then marched against them, and he was joined by the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of Núr, who then held the fief of 'Ebyen.<sup>1014</sup> They penetrated against them into a locality named Shu'ba,<sup>1015</sup> and reached places in their country that none of the Sultan's forces had ever arrived at before this. When the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín returned from his campaign, he equipped a force to the coast and they surprised 'Ibráhím son of Shu'ayr son of 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, who was at that time the best horseman of the Jaháfil tribes. They killed him and cut off his head. The horsemen of Şa'id, too, surprised five of the 'Ajálim tribe, and slew them.

In the month of Sha'bán of this year A.H. 702 the Sultan turned his course towards Yemen, entering the castle of his capital Ta'izz on the last day of that month, or, as is also said, on the first day of Ramaḍán (about 1st April, 1303).

f. 180 And in this year died Melik 'Ádil Şaláhu'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of Melik 'Eshref; his death, may God have mercy on him, took place in the village of Dirás. And in the latter part of the month of Ramaḍán the Sherif 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís son

of 'Aliyy came up to the capital, Ta'izz, on account of the festival. A number of the poets were also present, and the jurist 'Affu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of Ja'fer recited a poem, revered everywhere, of the very choicest of his verse, delivering it on the day of the festival.

In this same year A.H. 702, also, the Sultan issued his command, may God have mercy on him, for the building of his college, known as the Mu'eyyediyya, in the Western Ward of Ta'izz. He established therein an 'imám, a mu'ezzin, a beadle, a teacher, orphans to learn the Qur'án, a professor of the school of the 'Imám Sháfi'iyy, a tutor, students of the sacred science, and a reader who should recite the Qur'án after the seven methods of vocalization, bestowing thereon a trust estate in mortmain of lands and vineyards sufficient to maintain the whole of them. He further gave in trust for ever a number of choice books to this college. f. 181<sup>b</sup>  
f. 182<sup>a</sup>

In the year A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303-4) there arrived the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Mektúb the Merqabite, as envoy from the countries of Egypt to Yemen, with news of the victory, through the divine aid, gained over the troops of the Tartars by the Muslims at Merju's-Şuffer<sup>1016</sup> (Meadow-land of the Whistlers, in Hawrán, south of Damascus), the number of the slain then in the said battle being one hundred thousand killed. The Sultan paid great attention to the envoy who brought him the bulletin of triumph; the military kettledrums were beat, and proclamation made for public rejoicing and felicitations. The whole of the notables of the realm went forth, wezírs, 'emírs, and commandants, to meet the envoy. The Sultan, God's mercy on him, gave orders to show honour to the said envoy and to have him lodged in a place suited to his condition. He bestowed on him gifts abundantly and in perfection. An answer was written for him in the sense of what he had brought, and he went back to his lord, returning to Cairo. ۳۰۶  
(ff. 182<sup>b</sup>; 184<sup>a</sup>)  
f. 184<sup>b</sup>

Afterwards news came of the arrival of a large military force from the countries of Egypt at Mekka the Honoured, which may God guard, who be extolled. The Sultan acted with



circumspection, went from Ta'izz to Zebíd in the latter part of Dhú'l-Qa'da, gave orders for the repair of Birk,<sup>1017</sup> to which place he sent a commander with a detachment of the divinely aided forces. When the pilgrimage was concluded news came that the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Selár, lieutenant of the realm in the Egyptian territories, had performed the pilgrimage with very large escort, and had distributed an immense amount of money as alms to the inhabitants of the two sacred cities. Thus has said 'Ibnu 'Abdi'l-Mejíd in his book named "The Gladness of Yemen" (Behjetu'l-Yemen): "I have heard that his alms were over six hundred thousand pieces of silver, and of corn of superior quality, brought by sea by the road of Quşayr<sup>1018</sup> to Judda,<sup>1019</sup> was ten thousand *irdebb*<sup>1020</sup> (about six thousand quarters); and that there was not left in Híjáz that year anyone in debt." He has also said: "And it has been communicated to me that the income of his fief, of his trusts, of his properties hired out, and of the rent of his estates in Egypt and Syria, each day was a hundred thousand pieces of silver, special to his own treasury, besides what was incumbent on him as appropriated to his dependents." Thus end his words.

f. 185a And in this year A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303-4) there came a man of the merchant class from the countries of Khatá<sup>1021</sup> by way of China, whose name was 'Abdu'l-'Azíz son of Mansúr the Kelbite, with merchandize to an enormous amount. He had with him three hundred bales of silk, each weighing three hundred *ratls* of Baghdád (lbs. avoird.); four hundred and fifty pounds of musk, run into vases of pewter; of china porcelain a large quantity; a goodly supply of jade vessels inlaid with gold, such as large dishes; a like quantity of alum of various colours; a great number of male and female slaves, and five pounds weight of the silver of diamond.<sup>1022</sup> He asserted that the whole was an alms to the two sacred cities entrusted to his keeping by merchants of that region. The customs-dues or tithe of what came with him to the fortified frontier of 'Aden the well-guarded was fixed at three hundred thousand pieces of silver. When he had taken up his abode in 'Aden he proceeded to the sacred

gate, where he was received by the leonine generous one<sup>1023</sup> with universal munificence. He presented before the place of audience gifts in money and rarities that were admired. So the command emanated for their acceptance, and the Sultan showered on him rich dresses of honour, causing him to ride on noble saddle-beasts.<sup>1024</sup> He wrote in his favour as a return for what he had offered, several times its value. A sacred mandate was sent to the officers in charge at the well-guarded frontier port for them to show him respect and honour; and he was offered his choice either to continue his journey or to remain. He opted to journey in the direction of Egypt and its dependencies, so to renew his ties with its inhabitants.

And in this year A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303-4) the Sherif 'Idris son of 'Aliyy brought about a skirmish with the Jahāfil tribesmen, in which he gave proof of his 'Aliyyide energy and Hasanide valour.<sup>1025</sup> The total of those who gathered together on the Jahāfil side was forty horsemen and a thousand two hundred foot, while the Sherif had with him two hundred foot and forty horse. He made a great carnage of the Jahāfil, while there were slain of the troops an inconsiderable number, though among them was the Sherif 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed the Leper ('el-'Ebreš), who was a son of a paternal uncle of the Sherif 'Idris.

And in this year A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303-4) died the 'Emir 'Ebū Sulṭān, who held possession of Telmuş. He had agreed with the 'Emir Jemālu'd-Dīn 'Aliyy son of Behrām for the surrender of the castle to the Sultan, and the two had exchanged hostages to this effect. But after his death the garrison had made themselves completely masters of the situation, and tendered allegiance at his decease to the 'Emir 'Aliyy son of Mūsā son of 'Aḥmed son of the 'Imām. He accordingly marched thitherwards with a store of corn in the latter part of the night. When the son of Behrām heard of this he issued from Şa'da towards them, and severe fighting ensued between them, the two 'Emirs, 'Aliyy son of Mūsā and 'Aliyy son of Behrām, keeping close to each other, and two horsemen being killed on the two sides.

f. 185<sup>a</sup>f. 185<sup>b</sup>f. 185<sup>c</sup>

The Sultan had already sent the 'Emír 'Aliyy son of Músá to organize Şa'da. He also sent the 'Emír 'Abbás son of Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'l-Jelíl to the countries of Táju'd-Dín to make war on him. On the part of 'Aliyy son of Músá at Şa'da that occurred which has been stated; and when the store of corn had gone up to Telmuş there arrived the 'Emír Mu'eyyed son of 'Aḥmed the Hedewite, one of the erudite men of the Zeydiyya sect, one of their eminent men of talent, one of their tuskers, and one of their governing minds. He abode a space in the camp of the Sherífs, their camp being under the castles of the 'Emír Músá.

While this was taking place the 'Emír Muḥammed son of Muṭahher son of Dhuleyma arrived, who was on his way to Şa'da. The 'Emír Mu'eyyed son of 'Aḥmed went to meet him in the town of the Benú 'Uweyr.<sup>1026</sup> Afterwards the Sherífs joined them with a goodly array of horsemen, and they all journeyed together with the design of reaching Telmuş. The Ghuzz Kurds mounted their steeds from Şa'da, and barred their way, when there took place a great conflict between the two forces. The right wing of the Sultan's troops was broken, as also their left wing, while their centre maintained themselves with admirable intrepidity. But, when their comrades had been routed, it was not possible for them to maintain their position after the force had been disorganized, and they therefore followed after the fugitives. On that day was slain 'Áy-Bek of Híjáz the 'Eshrefite, who was one of the heroes summed up as such. Three horsemen and four footmen were killed with him, while seven head of steeds were captured. The Sherífs immediately marched on the city of Şa'da, and this took place in the latter half of Sha'bán in the year 703 (about April, 1304). The Sherífs remained in Şa'da a certain number of days, and then they began a correspondence for peace. A truce was concluded to the end of Dhú'l-Hijja with the stipulation that Şa'da should be evacuated by both parties. The Sheríf Shukr went down to the sacred court to treat for the conclusion of peace, and there journeyed with him the Sheríf

r1.

f. 186a

Dáwúd son of 'Izzu'd-Dín. He was not accepted, and therefore returned abashed to his companions. They worked to make the truce definitive; and the Sultan equipped as a field force the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Abbás son of Muḥammed, with two hundred horse and two captains from the Medh-ḥij tribe in the latter part of Dhú'l-Qa'da. They corresponded concerning peace after the completion of the preceding truce.

And in this year A.H. 703 died Melik Dháfir Quṭbu'd-Dín 'Ísá son of Melik Mu'eyyed in the castle of Ta'izz on the 24th Muḥarrem. His funeral was attended by his brother Melik Mudḥaffer and his paternal uncle Melik Maṣṣúr with all the notables of the realm. He was buried in the college of his father, built in the western quarter of the city of Ta'izz. f. 11  
(ff. 186<sup>b</sup>–188<sup>b</sup>)

In the year A.H. 704 (A.D. 1304–5) the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín Búz son of Ḥasan set out from Ḥaraḍ for Ṣa'da to reinforce 'Abbás son of Muḥammed son of 'Abbás and 'Aliyy son of Behráṃ. The 'Emír 'Abbás son of Muḥammed destroyed the seed-crops of the Sherífs at Ṣa'da and in its districts. And there entered the cattle and families of over thirty horsemen, with three hundred footmen into Ta'izz of Ṣa'da.<sup>1027</sup> He went down into the hollow of Jewf, thence reaching Ṣan'á', and proceeding towards Yemen. Then, when Ṣa'da became free of troops, the progeny ('Ál) of Shemsu'd-Dín collected their forces and went down into the hollow of Jewf, remaining three days at the market-place (Súq) of the progeny ('Ál) of Dī'ám,<sup>1028</sup> the districts belonging to the Sultan having already congregated in Záhír,<sup>1029</sup> they having also a certain function of government in Na'mán.<sup>1030</sup> f. 189<sup>a</sup>

And in the month of Ṣafer the Sultan arrested the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of 'Izzu'd-Dín, together with his son the Sheríf Shukr son of 'Aliyy the Qásimite, and gave orders also for the seizure of his children wherever they might be. This was on account of what had entered the mind of the Sultan respecting their conduct at Ṣa'da and Telmuṣ. And he chastised them as their likes are treated.

And at this date a supreme mandate issued for the equipment

rir of the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Búz as envoy to the lands of Egypt. But information came that the 'Emírs in Egypt had wrought foul play on the Sultan,<sup>1081</sup> and that the country was out of order. So the Sultan postponed that design, according to the son of Búz four sets of kettledrums with four banners, who then returned to his fief.

f. 189<sup>b</sup> And in the first Jumádá month the distress ceased with the dearth, and prices became low in all the cantons of Yemen. The commandant also came back who had gone to repair Birk, he being Músá son of 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Alá'u'd-Dín. And the Sheríf Ṭáhir son of 'Ebú Numeyy had come to him at Birk from Mekka, which God guard, who be exalted, with the view of proceeding to the sacred court of the Sultan, and had continued his journey with him. But when they had arrived in the neighbourhood of Lu'lu'a,<sup>1082</sup> people of the Juheyne<sup>1083</sup> tribe set upon them. The escort was routed, and the Sheríf Ṭáhir remained behind against the people. He was killed, and all their baggage and beasts were captured.

And in the month of Rejeb of the year 704 (February, 1305) the supreme cavalcade went from Zebíd to the capital of Ta'izz, where it remained during Sha'bán. There set in upon the Sultan an indisposition soon after his ascent. The people were agitated at this, and Yemen was filled with dread. But God, who be extolled, granted the grace of his restoration to health in the latter part of Sha'bán, and he ceased not to dwell in Thu'bát<sup>1084</sup> until the 10th of Ramaḍán (about 25th March, 1305). He then mounted to the castle (of Ta'izz), and the day of his ascent was a day to be seen.

rir In the month of Shewwál (May, 1305) the Sultan gave the city of 'Ebyen<sup>1085</sup> and its dependencies as a fief to the son of Behráw. He despatched the son of Búz towards the territories of Egypt on the 1st of Shewwál (about 25th April), having already given him Qaḥma<sup>1086</sup> in fief. He set out on his journey in the first decade of the month, with all sorts of rarities of value, such as silver-plate articles of various kinds, such as basons and ewers, trays, censers, globes, scabbards; poles of

lign-aloes and sandal-wood, large lumps of ambergris, pods of musk; choice articles of china porcelain and jade, such as dishes and cream-coloured vases, the beauty of which it is impossible to describe; Abyssinian eunuchs; Indian bamboo spear-shafts, Chinese couches, gilt brackets; valuable turban-sashes, cloths of Beylaqán<sup>1037</sup> (near the Araxes and Shirwán, west of the Caspian), most esteemed gold brocades of China; vases, plates and dishes; chests full of musk in grains, China gambir or catechu (*Terra Japonica*), refined camphor, another assortment; also, of what relates to spices, as pepper, cloves, ginger, lac, sappan-wood, hides-full; of wild beasts, as elephants, wild asses, giraffes, all clothed with satin silk interwoven with gold thread in designs; and horses of price from Arabian sires and dams, worthy of the state of him to whom they were sent. The whole of this was borne in two large ships. The like of this offering is usually not delayed beyond two or three rulers, with the view of securing good-will and amity, with a continuance on terms consonant with friendly relations.

f. 190<sup>a</sup>  
r<sup>11</sup>

And in this year A.H. 704 the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín ʿṬuġhrīl bent his steps to the sacred court, offering his resignation of Ṣan'á', by reason of a dispute arisen between him and the eunuch Yáqút, superintendent of the domains of the Sultan. The sovereign relieved him of the fief, and conferred it on his own son Mudhaffer, whose lieutenant set out to take possession of it on the 12th Dhú'l-Qa'da of the year (about 25th May, 1305).

After this the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín, with the Sherífs, returned to 'Anán<sup>1038</sup> a second time, and the 'Imám Muḥammed son of Muṭahher came to them there. So the Sultan equipped, to war against them, the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín ʿṬuġhrīl, who advanced against them at 'Anán. They then went down into the low hollow country ('el-Jewf'),<sup>1039</sup> to which he followed them, and they went up to Ṣa'da. He marched after them, made an inroad as far as Felela,<sup>1040</sup> and devastated all he was able to reach of their canton. A truce was then made until the end of Dhú'l-Qa'da; he returned towards Ṣan'á', which he entered on the fifth day after quitting Ṣa'da.

And in the month of Dhū'l-Hijja the 'Halt' or 'Stand'<sup>1041</sup> (Waqfa) of Pilgrimage, at 'Arefat, took place on a Friday (9th of the month, 2nd July, 1305), and an immense concourse from Egypt came on pilgrimage. The commandant of the pilgrim-caravan was the great 'Emír Ruknu'd-Dín Bey-Bars the Kháṣṣakí, with whom a number of Egyptian 'Emírs performed the pilgrimage. With them came also the two Sherífs Rumeytha and Humeýḍa, two sons of 'Ebú Numeyy, who had been in Egypt in 'chains, as we formerly narrated. Now, when the pilgrimage had been wholly accomplished, the 'Emír Ruknu'd-Dín Bey-Bars commanded the presence of the two (other) Sherífs, their brothers 'Ebú'l-Ghayth and 'Uṭayfa, to let them know that the lord of Egypt had appointed as governors their two brothers Rumeytha and Humeýḍa. But they did not reply to express that to hear was to obey, so that a certain mutual repugnance sprang up between them. There was then in Mekka and Medína a great dearth, so that a quart of wheat reached the price of twenty pieces of silver, and of millet sixteen pieces. Rumeytha and Humeýḍa were established in the government of the country, pursued an excellent line of conduct, and abolished somewhat of the taxes.

And in this year A.H. 704 'Abdu'l-Báqí son of 'Abdu'l-Hamíd came from the fortified frontier port of 'Aden to the sacred courts of the Sultan, asking to be made the Secretary of Epistolary Composition. Contentions ensued, which led to a lack of permanency. His age was then three and twenty years. When he found that he was not successful in his object he set out for the territories of Egypt, reciting the words of the poet:

"*O thou water of 'Udheyb,<sup>1042</sup> and thou art sweet; there has interposed, hitherwards of thee, an insalubrious water!*"

In the year A.H. 705 (A.D. 1305-6) the Sultan conferred 'Ebyen<sup>1043</sup> as his fief on the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Tughríl, and he

went down to it in the latter half of Muḥarrem (8th-23rd August, 1305). The son of Behráṁ left that fief; and when he presented himself at the august courts as removed from 'Ebyen, the Sultan ordered four sets of kettledrums, four banners, and the fief of Raḥbán<sup>1044</sup> to be conferred on him. The Sheriffs of the family ('Ál) of Shems had made a predatory incursion of Ḥaraḍ before the arrival there of the son of Behráṁ, and had done damage in its neighbourhood. There were in it a captain and a garrison of the troops of the Sultan, and these sallied forth to engage the Sheriffs. They fought a battle near to the city, but they were driven back to the covered way (*derb*), and the Sheriffs entered the city, where they pillaged whatever they could lay hands on, and retreated without loss of time. The Benú Ḥamza disagreed with the Sheriffs, and the son of Wehhás joined them.

The Sultan now equipped the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Umer son of Míká'il, then marshal of the guard, with a goodly force, to the canton of Şan'á, where he remained to the end of the month of Ramaḍán (about 15th April, 1306), going down again after the conclusion of peace between the Sultan and the Sheriffs, on the basis that one-third of the canton of Telmuş should belong to the Sultan. Hostages were taken from them for this condition, and the people of Şa'da returned to Şa'da, where they took up their abode.

f. iv

And in the end of Sha'bán in this year 705 (March, 1306) Melik Mudhaffer gave in his resignation of the fief of Şan'á, and proceeded to the private apartments of his father, who bestowed the fief on the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Tuḡhríl. He set out for the fief, and when he reached Dhemár he made a stay there until the month Dhú'l-Qa'da, capturing, during the interval of his stay, one of the castles of the Benú 'Ubeyda.<sup>1045</sup>

And on the 24th Ramaḍán (about 7th April, 1306) the Sultan conferred on the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy the fief of 'Ebyen and its dependencies. Also, in the middle of Shewwál (about 30th April) the Sultan commanded that the Jaháfil tribe should be restored to their pensions.<sup>1046</sup> of

f. 192b



which they had been deprived for two years by way of punishment.

In this year A.H. 705, too, the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Búz returned from the lands of Egypt after having been treated with all due honour. There came with him an envoy named 'Imtiyázu'd-Dín the Ṭúrite. He sojourned in Ta'izz for a certain number of days, presented himself at the Sultan's court, and was received with honour and kindness. He then journeyed to Zebíd, and remained there until his travelling needs were got ready, when he set out to return to his master.

This year A.H. 705 the pilgrimage was gone through by an immense conclave of people from Egypt and the provinces of the western lands, from Babylonia, Persia, and Yemen, so that God alone could know their number, who be extolled. Three banners were assembled on the eve of the festival of sacrifices ('Arefa): one, of the lord of Yemen; one, of the lord of Egypt; and one, of the lord of Babylonia ('Iráq), Khudá-Benda, i.e. The Hero,<sup>1047</sup> in the Turkish idiom. A scuffle broke out at Miná<sup>1048</sup> between the Egyptians and the men of Hijáz. The commandant of the Egyptian caravan was the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín 'Abagha, who was a rough, coarse, bloodthirsty fellow, prone to every kind of sin. He put to death a number of the people of the highland ridge of Arabia, treating them with harshness, and not feeling for them any pity or commiseration.

f. 193<sup>a</sup> In the year A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7) the Sultan obtained  
f. 193<sup>b</sup> possession of the castle of Qará'í,<sup>1049</sup> which is an appendage of Ṭawíla, so that arrows and stones can be shot in exchange between them. The Sheríf Táju'd-Dín then formed a camp against Qará'í, and captured the castle of Shureyb.<sup>1050</sup> The 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín now issued forth from Ṣan'á' in the month of the latter Rebí' (October, 1306), and the 'Emír 'Abbás son of Muḥammed. They defeated him, and the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín provisioned both castles with all kinds of stores after he had repaired them both. So he returned victorious and successful in the month of Sha'bán (February, 1307).

And on the 13th day of the month of Jumádá the latter

(about 25th December, 1306) the birth took place of Sultan Melik Mujáhid in the city of Zebíd.<sup>1051</sup> It has been said that his birth occurred on the 10th Ramaḍán (about 15th March, 1307) in a sitting-room of the Sultan's palace at Zebíd, this room being known commonly as the Birth-Room, inasmuch that in it he was born. But God knows best.

And in the latter half of the latter Rebl' (25th October–9th November, 1306) the son of 'Aṣheb captured the castle of Sábba<sup>1052</sup> in Waṣáb.<sup>1053</sup> It is an immense castle and butts with the stars, and it clothes itself with the clouds; one of the most inapproachable and impregnable, most precipitous and advantageous of castles, the last of the fastnesses of Yemen. He who pitches a camp against it sees it not, for it is on the pinnacle of a high mountain, and there is but one pathway to it. The Sultan determined to retake it, so he detached the wezír Muwaffaqu'd-Dín to Jubla, who enrolled footmen from there. The Sultan journeyed to Zebíd in all haste, as the poet 'Ebü't-Ṭayyib Mutenebbi<sup>1054</sup> has expressed himself, where he says:

*"More violent in rushing assault than the headlong winds, and swifter in gift-giving than it in blowing."*

The Sultan next went forth, pitching his camp against Sábba for a space, and the son of 'Aṣheb hastened to tender his submission, stood up on the foot of compliance, and went down under the sacred amnesty. The Sultan received possession of the castle, and also of other castles, then returning whence he came. And when he settled down in the city of Zebíd public rejoicings were held, and the good tidings were announced by beat of kettledrums. The poets of his realm, too, felicitated him on the event.

And in the month of Shewwál of the year 706 (April, 1307) the Jaháfil tribe broke the peace and made a predatory inroad on Lahj. Of them was killed 'Abbás son of 'Ebü Sufra, one of their chief men and of their horsemen. They had already

(f. 194<sup>a</sup>)

f. 194<sup>b</sup>

made a raid against 'Ejna<sup>1055</sup> on the 8th of the month, when 'Aḥmed, the son of 'Ebú Sufra too, was killed, who was more looked up to by his people than was his brother. On the 20th Dhú'l-Qa'da; again, they collected large levies and went against 'Ejna for the second time; but they could not hold their ground against it, and returned by way of Rakhákh.<sup>1056</sup> The troops pursued them, and overtook them towards the evening, when they had met with a semúm<sup>1057</sup> wind and had dispersed. The troops then killed of them about forty men, and their evil and turbulence were stopped.

In the year A.H. 707 (A.D. 1307-8) the Bakhú'<sup>1058</sup> tribe overflowed and carried invasion into the canton of Ḥaraḍ. So the Sultan detached against them in that canton about three hundred horsemen of his divinely aided body-guard, who made a raid on them and broke up their mass.

And in this year of A.H. 707 the Sheríf Muḥammed son of Khálid fled from Zebíd, where the Sultan then was. He left behind his hostages, his mother and his sister.

In the month of Jumádá the first the governor of Shey'án<sup>1059</sup> rebelled against the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín, and sold the castle to the Sultan. The 'Emír Táju'd-Dín went to attack him, and killed a large number of his followers. The Sultan then detached, to make war on the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín, the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ṭughríl, marching in his company with the ballista<sup>1060</sup> to batter 'Azzán. And when they were come to Dila'<sup>1061</sup> he met the 'Emír

Táju'd-Dín with his brother the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Ḥamza. Or, the place of their meeting was below the defile of Bukur.<sup>1062</sup> They agreed to remain at peace and to serve the Sultan. He made them take the oath to do so, gave them robes of honour, and returned to his camp, taking with him the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Ḥamza. And when they arose on the morn of the second day, the auspicious, divinely aided banners of the Sultan dominated the castle of Bukur, their streamers waving there in loyalty to the Sultan. The 'Emír Táju'd-Dín then went down to the camp, where the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín received him kindly, gave him a robe of honour, made him a handsome money

present, and gave dresses of honour to the greater number of his slaves and followers. Peace was concluded between them and the Sultan for five years. The 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín then proceeded to the august court, having with him the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Hamza son of 'Ahmed, whole brother of the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín Muhammed son of 'Ahmed, who had never before this visited the courts of the Sultan. There were with him the son of his brother, 'Abdu'lláh son of Táju'd-Dín, and a number of Arab tribesmen.

In this year A.H. 707, too, the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Selár, regent over the lands of Egypt, resolved upon sending the 'Emír Bey-Bars,<sup>1063</sup> with a numerous army, to Yemen. He commanded the 'Emír 'Izzu'd-Dín the Rufous ('el-'Ashqar), Controller of the Exchequers, to proceed to the district of Qúṣ<sup>1064</sup> to build ships. Of these he constructed upwards of fifty, when God appointed his death, and the death of his children and household, together with his family, all in a few days, so that not one of them was left. The 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Selár desisted from that design, and advised that the jurists, judges, superiors of dervish convents, dwellers in hermitages, and men of righteousness and piety should be summoned to the presence of the Sultan Melik Náṣir, to inform him that this enterprise was not to be lawfully persevered in, seeing that Yemen was a land of the faith, a country of science and of men of science, of jurists, of righteous men, and of people of piety, while its king was a vicegerent of the Caliph's dominion and permanent in his rule, as had already been legally admitted, so that transgression against him was not permissible. So the Sultan was diverted from the idea; placing this to the delay of the controller.

When the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed became aware of this, he prohibited the spice-merchants ('el-Kárim, Kárimiyya)<sup>1065</sup> this year until an envoy should come with intelligence thereof. Matters were arranged for the dispatch of an envoy from the lands of Egypt to Yemen, together with a turbaned dignitary. The envoy was a man named Sa'diyy, a slave of Melik Dháhir (Ruknu'd-Dín Bey-Bars Bunduqdári Šálihiyy), and the turbaned

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functionary was the judge Shemsu'd-Dín 'Muḥammed son of 'Adlân, one of the judges. The tenour of the missive was a confirmation of the *status quo*, and that the Sultan had fully abandoned the design he had formed, he being at the present epoch possessed of a desire for peace and good-will. The two envoys set out for the countries of Yemen, and came to the place where the Sultan was staying, he being then unwell and unable to converse. It so happened that the 'Emír who had come as envoy was attacked by an illness that terminated in his death, which occurred on the 22nd Jumádá the first, 708 (about 7th November, 1308), at Zebíd, outside the city. The judge Shemsu'd-Dín returned to the lands of Egypt, bearing with him the answer respecting the matter about which he had come.

(f. 196<sup>a</sup>, b) And in the year A.H. 708 (A.D. 1308-9) occurred the installation of the Sultan's pavilion named Ma'qiliyy, in Thu'bat<sup>1066</sup>; f. 197<sup>a</sup> cessation from which took place in the middle of Šafer (about 4th August, 1308). It was a pavilion in the environs of which all beauties were found deficient, while comeliness rose as a sun in the horizon of its sublimities. The performers of travel in various regions are agreed that there was not its like in Syria or Babylonia, and that they had never seen its equal. It was a hall 25 cubits (about 62 feet) in length, with a breadth of 20 cubits (50 feet). Its two ceilings, unsupported by columns, were ornamented with gilding. It had four belvederes, with four balconies. There was nothing in it but marble and gold. In front of it was a pool of the length of 100 cubits (about 250 feet) by 50 cubits (125 feet) in breadth, on the margins whereof were the semblances of birds and wild beasts of yellow copper (brass, bronze) that spouted water from the mouths; and in the middle of the pool a fountain casting up water to the sky and reaching to a wide distance. In front of it a jet spouting to a distance, the water from which flowed into the pool, which was like a sheet of crystal, which could not be described in any other terms. And in the hall were latticed windows looking on a garden of wonderful aspect, beautiful on examination and at first sight.

The artificers were occupied in working on it for the space of seven years. Thus saith the author, whom may God confirm : "I heard one relate, as from another, who lived in the days of its construction, that there used to go up to it every day about seventy mule-loads of foreign artificers, of carpenters, painters, brass-workers, founders, masons, marble-workers, gilders, artists ; besides those who rode asses, and those not mounted, of their assistants ; and besides workmen of the country, who equalled them in numbers several times over. And when its construction was completed, after the fashion detailed above, the Sultan, on whom be God's mercy, who be extolled, commanded that a public rejoicing should be held, great and comprehensive, at which should be present the notables of the people—nay, their commonality, according to the variety of their conditions and difference of their grades. The Sultan, God's mercy on him, looked down on them from the second story, and commanded that robes of honour should be distributed to the notables of the people ; and of his munificence he made to flow a gift to everyone, causing them to attain to their desires through his liberality. The poets felicitated him on this event."

f. 197<sup>b</sup>

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(f. 198<sup>a</sup>)f. 198<sup>b</sup>

And when the edification of the Ma'qiliyy was finished with, the Sultan gave orders for the construction of a second pavilion in the garden of Šállā,<sup>1067</sup> and then went to the capital, Zebíd, on the 4th Jumádá the first of the year 708 (about 20th October, 1308), remaining there half a month, and then proceeding to Mehjem. There he stayed until Tuesday, 19th Rejeb (about 1st January, 1309), when he advanced to Hájja with a large army. This occurred when the siege of Dhahrán<sup>1068</sup> waxed tedious and the captains of the forces could attain to no result. The Sultan reached Jáhiliyy<sup>1069</sup> on the 23rd Rejeb (5th January), and Dhahrán was taken on the 24th. The camp and the ballista were then removed to Shemsán,<sup>1070</sup> where fighting became frequent. He battered it with the ballista,<sup>1071</sup> and the ballista produced an immense effect on it. Melik Mudhaffer and the Intimate Muwaffaqu'd-Din used to go down to be present at the shock administered to it. The conflict about it was spun out

f. 199<sup>a</sup>

until the middle of Sha'bán (about 1st March, 1309), when the lord thereof surrendered it. After its surrender the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín came to the camp, where the 'Emír, the son of Wehhás, and the lord of Thulá, as also the levies of Upper Yemen, had arrived before him, so that Ḥajja was brimfull of troops. The son of Wehhás mediated as to a peace with the lord of Juráf,<sup>1072</sup> who returned to the services of the Sultan and gave his son as hostage. He also mediated as to a peace with the 'Imám Muḥammed son of Muṭahher, on the basis of the surrender of 'Azzán and Birásh.

The Sultan then returned from Ḥajja on Saturday, 19th Sha'bán (5th March), entered Mehjem on the 23rd (9th), left there again on the 25th (11th), and proceeded to Zebíd, where he remained, performing the fast of Ramaḍán and the festival at its conclusion. On the 16th Shewwál (29th March) the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of Yahyá son of Ḥamza arrived at the courts of the Sultan in Zebíd, after determined refusal and unlikely projects. He received him with honour, presented him with rarities, made much of him, and treated him kindly. He had never before presented himself in person to the Sultan. He was one of the notables and of the chiefs of the Sherífs, lord of the Arabian castles of Kehlán<sup>1073</sup> and Ṭawíla, as well as of a number out of the many of the smaller castles. The Sultan treated him with his favours, overwhelming him with the flood of his attentions.

The supreme cortége proceeded to the Sea of 'Ehwáb,<sup>1074</sup> the sea-coast of Zebíd. He mounted an elephant when he entered Fáza,<sup>1075</sup> and made the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín mount behind him, when the heart of the Sheríf quaked by reason of his ride on the elephant. The Sultan remained at the seaside awhile, returned to Zebíd, stayed there a space, and then proceeded to Ta'izz, which he entered on the 27th Dhú'l-Qa'da (about 7th May, 1309). He commanded the presence of the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín for a ramble and a recreation on the pavilions at Thu'bát, Quráda, Dahla,<sup>1076</sup> and Šállá. So he saw a great king, with "parádisé and silk." And when the Sultan arrived at Thu'bát the 'Emír

'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy felicitated him on his arrival there on the first day of the sacred decade of the month of Dhú'l-Hijja (1st May, 1309).

In the month of Shewwál of this year A.H. 708 (March, 1309), Muḥammed son of 'Ámis and his son took from the Sheykhs of Ḥajja the castle of Me'dhún,<sup>1077</sup> and the two put to death its lord, 'Aliyy son of Ṣa'sa'a, and his brother 'Isháq.

f. 200<sup>a</sup>

And in the month of Dhú'l-Qa'da of the year A.H. 708 (April, 1309) intelligence arrived from Mekka the Honoured that the people of Egypt had raised to the dignity of Sultan Ruknu'd-Dín Bey-Bars the Kháṣṣakí,<sup>1078</sup> who had taken the name of Melik Mudhaffer. The cause of this was that Bey-Bars and Selár had got command over the realm, with control over the revenues and the treasuries, so that, through them, the Sultan had only the title of sovereign left him. So he consulted them as to his undertaking the pilgrimage, sending his sons away with the Egyptian pilgrim caravan, he himself taking the road to Damascus, so as to journey with the pilgrim-caravan of Syria. But when he was out of Egypt and could say his life was his own, he took the way to Kerek<sup>1079</sup> and sent forth his slaves after his sons, fetching them back and delivering himself from Egypt and its people. So they made Bey-Bars Sultan, as we have related. And in this year A.H. 701 there was manifested on the part of the two Sherífs Rumeytha and Ḥumeyḍa at Mekka the Honoured a tyranny, oppression, and greed for the goods of the people which had not been usual with them both before this time.

f. 200<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 709 (A.D. 1309-10) the Sheríf 'Imádu'd-Dín set out for the conquest of the two Sherífs,<sup>1080</sup> having with him a divinely aided force. It chanced that the son of 'Aliyy son of Ṣa'sa'a had just perfected a plot in the castle of the Me'dhún,<sup>1081</sup> so that the troops of the Sultan entered it and took possession, seizing also the son of 'Ámis and his son. The Sultan's deputies were given possession of the castle, and also of the castle of Khurbús<sup>1082</sup> in the Ḥibr<sup>1083</sup> country, which the troops had taken as well. Orders came from the Sultan for the delivery

f. 200<sup>b</sup>



of the son of 'Ámis, as also of his son to the son of 'Aliyy son of Şa'sa'a, and to the son of his paternal uncle, the son of 'Ishâq son of Şa'sa'a. So these two put those two to death, in revenge for their fathers, at the gate of Jáhiliyy.<sup>1084</sup>

The Sheríf proceeded with the troops from Dhahíra<sup>1085</sup> towards the upper Sheref, and gained the mastery over the town of Sa'd<sup>1086</sup> in the district of Hibr, as also of the castle of Qáhira in the district of Maḥábisa.<sup>1087</sup> He took hostages from the people of both the Sherefs, and advanced against the lower Sheref on the 11th of the first Rebí' (about 20th August, 1309), camping against Qilháh.<sup>1088</sup> On the same day the castle of Qufl<sup>1089</sup> was taken possession of. It was held by 'Ibnu-Miqra'a, a slave of the Sheríf 'Ibráhím son of Qásim. The levies of the two Sheref districts joined the troops of the Sultan, the total being five thousand men, with which the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín undertook an attack on Mount Sáhil,<sup>1090</sup> one of the most unassailable of mountains and of the most unapproachable. It was in the possession of the Sheríf Yahyá son of 'Aḥmed the Qásimite, who fought in its defence. The Sheríf 'Imádu'd-Dín put the sons of his paternal uncle, with the levies from the Arabians, in the van of the gathering, marching himself in the rear with the troops of the Sultan; but no one came to meet them hitherward of the castle of 'Aqnáb,<sup>1091</sup> against which he pitched, and which he captured, gaining possession also of the castle of Náşira.<sup>1092</sup> He then marched against Mount Meshela.<sup>1093</sup> Great consternation now befell the Sheríf Yahyá son of 'Aḥmed, who begged for peace on condition that he should surrender the castle of 'Arús,<sup>1094</sup> the permanent abode of the Sheríf, where were his treasures and his stores of corn; and also the castles of Shemsán<sup>1095</sup> and Semu'el;<sup>1096</sup> leaving in his possession only the castle of Maṣúra.<sup>1097</sup> He removed to this latter, and gave his son as hostage that he would go down to the sacred court of the Sultan.

When the lower Sheref was thus pacified, and there remained in it to the Sherífs only the castle of the Mes'úla,<sup>1098</sup> who

inhabited the Mount Ḥarām, and of whom there were already at the court a certain Muḥammed son of 'Aliyy and his brother endeavouring to sell the castle to the Sultan, the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín pitched against it with the divinely aided troops for three days, at the end of which the people in it sold it to him for two thousand ducats and the return of the two Sherífs from the court. The glad tidings reached the Sultan just when the Intimate had agreed to buy it from the two Sherífs for five thousand, with some horses and vestments. The Sultan decided in favour of the capture, rescinding what the Intimate had entered upon. The Sheríf 'Imádu'd-Dín then marched to the upper Sheref. f. 201<sup>a</sup>

And on Monday the 16th of . . . . in this year A.H. 709 the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Tughríl was murdered. The Kurds it was who killed him at Dhemár, near the gate of the city, in the pavilion of the Sultan. He had asked for a detachment of troops from the court, and a goodly detachment went up to him for the purpose of getting in payment of the assessments due from the districts. The Kurds took it into their heads that his intention was to seize them, so they attacked him in the latter part of the night. Warning was given to him several times during the night; but he cast away his prudence, and the decree of God became a fore-ordinance fully carried out. When they had determined to kill him they assembled, went out from the city, sought the camp of the troops of Şan'á', houghed their horses, proceeded to the pavilion, and occupied the stable. The troops of the Sultan, slaves of the marine guards, and others now attacked and dispersed them, driving them away from the pavilion towards the gate of the city. The slaves then returned to the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín, who was in the pavilion. They begged him to come out to them; but he refused, and took no heed of them. The troops then dispersed. After a time the Kurds went to attack him again, and they beset him until after sunrise. He then went out to them under a pledge of safety; but they killed him, and with him his brother-in-law, who was his marshal of the f. 201<sup>b</sup>

household, his secretary, the governor of Dhemár, as also four of his slaves. The whole of those killed with him was eight persons, he being the ninth of them. They pillaged the camp and all the horses and equipments in it. They who could escaped with their lives.

When the troops reached the Sultan robbed of their horses, accoutrements, and personal effects, the Sultan compensated them for what was lost, and equipped a force with the 'Emír Shujá'u'd-Dín 'Umer son of the judge 'Imád, who was then captain of the body-guard. He also despatched the 'Emír 'Abbás son of Muḥammed towards Şan'á' by way of the seaboard country and Hájja, having with him a handsome sum of money with which to enrol troops. The son of 'Imád took time on his journey until 'Abbás should come forth from Şan'á', in which were the 'Emír 'Alemu'd-Dín Ḥamza son of 'Aḥmed, the 'Emír 'Ibnu Wehhás, the lord of Thulá, men of the tribe of Hemdán, the family of Shureyḥ, and others besides. They and the son of 'Imád entered Dhemár on a Sunday, the Kurds having decamped to Wádi Ḥárr<sup>1099</sup> and taken possession of the castle of Hezzán,<sup>1100</sup> which they provisioned, and in which they stationed a garrison.

The troops followed them to Wádi Ḥárr, fighting with them for three days, in one of which three of the Kurds were killed and their horses captured. After this the Kurds dispersed to every quarter, while the divinely aided forces ravaged the possessions of Faḍl son of Maṣṣúr, returning then to Dhemár. The Sherífs went back to their respective countries, and the two 'Emírs remained at Dhemár.

Correspondence and messages took place between the Kurds and the 'Imám 'Ibnu Muṭahher. He complied with their wish, and journeyed to the country of the sons of Shiháb, asking the Kurds to come there, which they did. 'Abbás marched to Şan'á' with the levies of Şan'á', the Kurds and the 'Imám going to Qarn-'Anter,<sup>1101</sup> which they took by assault. They who were therein did battle, being about a hundred men. The Arabian tribesmen took Beyt-Berám,<sup>1102</sup> Beyt-Redm,<sup>1103</sup> Qáhir<sup>1104</sup> in

Ḥaḍúr, and Redmán of the Benú Khawwál.<sup>1105</sup> The 'Imám gathered his host against Ṣan'á' in the latter part of Ramaḍán, the 'Emír 'Abbás being posted with some horse in Sá'ila,<sup>1106</sup> behind the gate. The people of Ṣan'á' fought against the prowlers. Some of the troops, too, entered by way of the Sultan's garden, and went back again. The 'Imám returned also to Ḥadda<sup>1107</sup> and Sibá', remaining in it there. There were with him, of Kurds and others, about a hundred horsemen. Reinforcements in succession continued to arrive at Ṣan'á'; and later on the Sultan went up in person.

When he reached Dhemár he timed his departure thence at dawn. So by the evening he was at the gate of Ṣan'á'. But the 'Imám had no stomach to renew his attack against it.

In the month of Shewwál of this year 709 (March, 1310), the Sherífs took the oath of allegiance to Shemsu'd-Dín, (who was) in Ṣa'da, to which they despatched the Kurdite, causing him to journey by way of Ḥaraḍ.<sup>1108</sup> The Sultan was vexed, sending his son Melik Mudhaffer to the plain (Qá') of Beytu't-Táhim,<sup>1109</sup> where he camped on the 6th Dhú'l-Ḥijja (about 7th May, 1310), and at once advanced to Beyt-Khabbíd,<sup>1110</sup> which he occupied, so that his troops became visible to the 'Imám 'Ibnu Muṭahher at Ḥadda. So he, and the Kurds with him, retreated by way of Házza<sup>1111</sup> to Háfíd,<sup>1112</sup> going up thence to Sibá'.<sup>1113</sup> The rendezvous between the Sultan and his son Melik Mudhaffer was for the Tuesday, when the troops of the Sultan were to have ridden from Ṣan'á' to Ḥadda. Melik Mudhaffer was in too great a hurry in the latter part of the Monday, and this haste of his was the means of salvation to the son of Muṭahher and the Kurds. For every doom there is a written decree.

On the 1st of Dhú'l-Qa'da (1st April, 1310) the 'Emír Humámu'd-Dín violated the peace existing between him and the Sultan. He wrote to the family of Shemsu'd-Dín proposing an interview and an alliance. The 'Imám Muḥammed son of Muṭahher remained in Mount Rehiqa,<sup>1114</sup> and the Kurds in Rewba,<sup>1115</sup> with Melik Mudhaffer in his camp in the plain of Beytu't-Táhim, for the space of half a month; and Muḥammed

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f. 202a

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son of Dhi'b the Shihábite sowed discord between the 'Imám and the Kurds. The troops then went up the mountain, when both the 'Imám and the Kurds retreated. Afterwards they went down by way of Mefḥaq,<sup>1116</sup> and dispersed from that place. The 'Imám now marched to Dherwán,<sup>1117</sup> then to Dhalíma,<sup>1118</sup> where he kept the festival of sacrifice. The Kurds marched towards Tawrán.<sup>1119</sup>

The 'Emír 'Aliyy son of Músá next came to the 'Imám Muḥammed son of Muṭahher, and with him the members of the family of the 'Imám. Together they advanced in the direction of Sheref,<sup>1120</sup> by reason of the information that reached them about a delay in the pay of the troops, and their dispersal in consequence. They went up by way of Kehlán; but the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín drew out his forces to repel them, and they returned disappointed towards Dháhír.<sup>1121</sup> There they menaced Qunna,<sup>1122</sup> and being joined by the 'Emír Humámu'd-Dín there, they encamped against it for three days. They then dispersed, and the 'Emír Humámu'd-Dín returned to Dhafár, while the 'Imám Muḥammed son of Muṭahher and the Sheríf 'Aliyy son of Músá marched to Ša'da.

On the 1st of Dhú'l-Ḥijja in this year 709 (1st May, 1310) the Sultan gave orders for the arrest of the Sheríf Jemálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Wehhás, and his two sons Dáwúd and Mu'eyyed, in Šan'á, alleging against him certain matters requiring this action. He sent troops with 'Abbás son of Muḥammed to encamp against his castle of 'Azzán,<sup>1123</sup> despatching the ballista with him. The Sultan kept the festival of sacrifices at Šan'á.

f. 202<sup>b</sup> In this year A.H. 709 the 'Emír Táju'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of Yaḥyá son of Ḥamza died on the 20th of the latter Jumádá (25th November, 1309). He had been with the Sultan from the day of his descent to him in Zebíd the year previous, until the day of his death. May God, who be extolled, have mercy on him.

This same year died also the jurist, the 'Imám, the erudite Raḍiyyu'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the

Yahyawite. There had been between him and Melik Mu'eyyed a familiarity and companionship before the sovereignty devolved on the latter, who had confidence in his integrity, with a boundless trust, so that the Sultan never altered anything he did, believing that whatever he did was the best to be done. It is said that by his recommendation were the trust estates in mortmain transferred from the judges of the canon law to the officers of the exchequer, whereas they had never been previously given in charge to any other than the canon law judges. He died at Zebîd in the night before Thursday the 10th of the latter Rebi' in this year 709 (about 7th September, 1309), and his brother, the judge Muwaffaqu'd-Dîn 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the Intimate, was present at his burial. He had hasted down to him from Ta'izz, and found him struck with apoplexy. He was buried by the side of the grave of the righteous Sheykh 'Aliyy son of 'Eflaḥ, in the cemetery near the Sihâm Gate.<sup>1124</sup> May God, who be extolled, have mercy on him.

f. 111

(f. 203<sup>a</sup>, b)f. 204<sup>a</sup>

In the year A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310-11) the 'Emîr Shemsu'd-Dîn Abbâs son of Muḥammed son of 'Abbâs received possession of the castle of Dhafâr, and removed his camp towards Dhafâr, camping at Ṭaffa<sup>1125</sup> by the side of the castle of Ta'izz. He planted the ballista against it, but the Sherîfs expressed a desire for peace, offering to enter the sacred service through Sheykh Nejmu'd-Dîn Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'llâḥ son of 'Umer son of Jened at Ṣa'da, the Sherîfs giving hostages for its execution. He marched in a state of armed preparation towards the Sultan at Ṣan'â', who ratified what he had done, and the herald proclaimed the peace by night against the wish of the 'Emîr 'Abbâs, who was then commanding over the campaign. All this was a trick on the part of the Sheykh son of Jened, by reason of his knowledge of the extremity to which the people of Dhafâr were reduced if the siege were established against them. They had asked succour from him, and he set about averting the siege from them with all celerity. The Sultan reckoned this to him as one of his offences. The Sultan ratified what

was arranged in respect of the peace, and then set out from Şan'á' for the capital city of Ta'izz on the 25th of Şafer (24th July, 1310), leaving in the districts of Şan'á' the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of Búz as lord of the fief.

And in this year A.H. 710 the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Din 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy took possession of the castle of Miftáh,<sup>1126</sup> in addition to the castles of the two Sherefs of which he had already made himself master. He delivered the whole to the Sultan's representative, who was Ḥasan son of Ṭammáḥ son of Náji, whom the Sultan had appointed governor of the Sheref cantons.

On the 17th of the latter Jumádá (about 11th November, 1310) the supreme cortège proceeded from the capital city, Ta'izz, to the capital, Zebíd. And at this date the Kurds were granted peace, they entering into submission after the land, with all its wide extent, had been made too narrow for them. They gave in their submission of their own free will, and took refuge under the sacred precincts, shading themselves in its shadows, and begging for the downpour of its beneficence. The natural Resŭliyy disposition inclined towards them with favour, and the matter was settled with the condition that Hezzán<sup>1127</sup> should remain in their hands. Whoever wished it were taken into the service, and they gave five hostages.

In this year A.H. 710 the Sultan conferred upon the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín Búz son of Ḥasan son of Búz as a fief the cantons of Şa'da, the Jewf hollow,<sup>1128</sup> and of Jeththa<sup>1129</sup> in the low seaboard country, compensating the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín with Qaḥma in lieu of Jeththa.

In the latter Jumádá the 'Imám Muḥammed son of Muṭahher journeyed in order to have an interview with the Kurds, who had expressed a wish for him. So he came to Re'su'l-Báqir,<sup>1130</sup> where he stayed waiting for them. But they conceived the idea of peace, and made peace for themselves with the Sultan; the 'Imám therefore returned to Werwer.<sup>1131</sup>

The Sultan went up from Zebíd to Ta'izz in the latter part of Dhú'l-Qa'da; and in the said year A.H. 710 a number of 'Emírs from Egypt performed the pilgrimage at Mekka with a dense

military force; their project being to arrest the two Sherífs Rumeytha and Hūmeyḍa. When these two became aware of this they took flight from Mekka, and the troops were unable to effect their capture. When the pilgrimage was accomplished, and the Egyptian force had taken its departure to return to Egypt, the two came back to Mekka.

(f. 205<sup>a</sup>)f. 205<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311-12) a grand enterprise was started by the 'Imám Muḥammed son of Muṭahher, and he advanced to Sheref with a body of troops. The tribesmen of Sheref had suffered from the magistrates appointed by the Sultan certain things they did not like. So the 'Imám marched with them towards Mount Sáhil, where he achieved nothing. He then went up to the country of the Maḥáshima,<sup>1132</sup> and warred against Qáhira,<sup>1133</sup> of which he made himself master, capturing also the castle of Heb/b,<sup>1134</sup> Mount Sa'd,<sup>1135</sup> Sheji'a,<sup>1136</sup> and Miftáh.<sup>1137</sup> The whole of the people of upper Sheref obeyed his summons. Upon this the Sultan went down to the low seaboard country, sending out detachments to that district, and ordering the Sheríf 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís to proceed thither as usual with him. So he marched to Mount 'Aqnáb,<sup>1138</sup> collected the forces, and wrote to the tribes; but they did not respond. He then marched to 'Akkás<sup>1139</sup> on the 7th of Sha'bán (about 18th December, 1311), and fought with them for eight days, their forces amounting then to one thousand five hundred men. Each day a number of his troops disappeared; but the 'Imám asked for succour of the tribes in Hájja, in Shaṭib,<sup>1140</sup> and of 'Ehnúm,<sup>1141</sup> as also of those of the north country ('Esh-Shám).<sup>1142</sup> They came forward to him, and they attacked the camp on the 15th Sha'bán (26th December) with six thousand foot. The troops of the Sultán were broken before the arrival of the 'Imám, and none stood his ground save the Sheríf 'Imádu'd-Dín, with four horsemen. The Sheríf 'Imádu'd-Dín was taken prisoner, with his maternal uncle; the son of his paternal uncle, Qásim son of 'Idrís, was killed; and the fourth escaped after his horse had been houghed. In the fight the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín Gházi son of 'Ebú Bekr son of Khaḍir was

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f. 206<sup>a</sup>



killed, who was at the time governor of Mewqir,<sup>1143</sup> of Mikhláfa, and of the districts of Şurdud. Seven of the foot-soldiers, too, were killed. The 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín remained a prisoner about half a month, when he escaped and reached the castle of 'Azzán,<sup>1144</sup> belonging to the two sons of Sherahbíl.

The 'Imám now collected his levies and drew up against him, but gained nothing. The 'Emír took possession of the castle of Miftáh on the 15th Ramaḍán (about 26th January, 1312), after 'Ibnu't-Tammáh had emptied it of all that was in it as provisions. He, as also those with him, bore patiently with the scarcity of food. The 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín now moved his quarters to ۱۱۴۵ Dhafer,<sup>1145</sup> the castle of the 'Emírs, the sons of Şafíyyu'd-Dín, in the middle of the month of Ramaḍán, the Sultan having already equipped his son Melik Mudhaffer, with the Intimate Muwaffaqu'd-Dín, to Sheref before the disaster. News of this reached them while they were at Mehjem. They therefore advanced and encamped at Qilháh, proceeding next to the spot where was the camp of the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín, and routed the levies of the 'Imám. Sheykh Rebáhiyy, lord of Mount Tey, was killed. The Sherif now moved from the castle designated above to the camp of Melik Mudhaffer at Qilháh, remaining with him in very great comfort until the 24th Shewwál (about 7th March, 1312). He then commanded him to take up a station in Mount Sáhil, and left with him a thousand foot of the force. Melik Mudhaffer, with the Intimate Muwaffaqu'd-Dín, then went down to the low seaboard country, and sent the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Abbás son of Muḥammed son of 'Abbás to Hájja to wage war on 'Ibráhím son of Muṭahher in Dherwán. 'Abbás encamped in the plain of Shemsán.

As the trouble between the Sultan and the 'Imám was thus trailing out in length, an arrangement was come to for an amnesty from the Sultan for a whole year, in order that the people should have rest from the trouble, and warfare laid aside its burdens. Melik Mudhaffer and the Intimate, as also the 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín, returned to the courts of the Sultan at Zebíd.

And in this year A.H. 711 died Sultan Melik Wáthiq 'Ibráhím son of Sultan Melik Mudhaffer Shemsu'd-Dín Yúsuf son of 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl at Dhafár of the Ḥabúdite. He was unique in his good attributes. He possessed a knowledge of polite literature, and had a bachelor's degree in several of the sciences. He used to indite poetry, and noble elegies mourn over him :

*"And whoever has Dáwíd son of Yúsuf<sup>1146</sup> as his whole brother,  
it is no wonder that he should be looked upon as generous."*

It is related that the son of 'Aḥmed Rifá'iy<sup>1147</sup> came to Dhafár with the object of performing the Mekkā pilgrimage, and the Sultan met him with honour and respect. He remained with him three days in sumptuous hospitalities. Each day he sent him a thousand ducats during his stay as a guest, together with a complimentary note. Such was his Mudhafferian disposition and 'Aliyyite sense of brotherhood. When tidings came of his death the Sultan gave orders that recitations of the Qur'án should be made for him during seven days, the princes of the sons of Resúl, the dignitaries of the realm, and the notables of the people being present at the recitation; after which, each day, they adjourned to a sumptuous repast, until the seven days were accomplished. May God, who be extolled, have mercy on him.

In this year A.H. 711 died also the judge Muntakhabu'd-Dín 'Ismá'íl son of 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy,<sup>1148</sup> of Ḥaleb as his native town, known as the painter, and surnamed Muntakhab. He was a learned, wise, and sedate man, with a widespread reputation and abounding fame. He had journeyed from his native country to Mekka the Honoured, where he dwelt a space. He then migrated to Yemen, where his reputation had been repeatedly talked of. When he came to Zebíd, where Nejmu'd-Dín son of Khirtabirtiy was the governor, this officer wrote to Sultan Melik Mudhaffer, informing him of the arrival, and the Sultan commanded that he should be respected, considered,

honoured, and revered. He was a pious, abstemious man, a master of jurisprudence and its bases. He became an intimate of the jurist 'Umer son of 'Ásim, of whom mention has been made. There happened then, after all this, a conference, in which the Companions of the Prophet and their relative superiorities were discussed, with all of whom may God be satisfied. From him was heard a preference for 'Aliyy, on whom be God's greeting, over all besides him of the Companions; and in consequence they accused him of heresy, and spread this abroad concerning him. So he kept to his house and deserted them, giving himself up to agriculture. He was held in great consideration therein, by reason of the honour and respect shown to him by (the prince? Sultan Melik) Mudhaffer, and his recommending him to the governors. Later still Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed married his daughter, and she bare him Melik Mujáhid. God's mercy on the whole of them.

(f. 207<sup>a</sup>)f. 207<sup>b</sup>

In the year A.H. 712 (A.D. 1312-13) Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed went up from Zebíd to Ta'izz on the day of the new moon of Muḥarrem (8th May, 1312). On the 14th of the first Rebi' the Sherif 'Imádu'd-Din Yahyá son of Táju'd-Dín was murdered. The cause of his assassination was that certain of the tribesmen, inhabitants of Milhán, excited him against some others different to themselves, and sided with him and his forces. But when he wished to go forth, he gave back the castles of the arbitrators before his departure from the mountain. They then overwhelmed him, and he was slain, as well as forty odd of the men who were with him.

1312

And at this date there came envoys of the 'Imám to the Sherif 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy to endeavour to effect a peace between him and the Sultan before the expiry of the truce. The Sherif sent them on to the sacred court, where they were met by the Sheykh Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Umer son of Jened; for the Intimate Muwaffaqu'd-Dín was at the time unwell. The question was settled by a peace for ten years, to begin with the latter Jumádá of the year 712 (5th October, 1312), on condition that the upper Sheref with

its castles, Hibr<sup>1149</sup> in Ḥajja, the lord of Beyt-Redm with his partners, the revenues of the family of ('Álu) Wisháh, wherever they arise, Dhafer of the son of Wehhás, and all others recognized as belonging to the 'Imám in Ḥajja, Dhalíma, and other than these two, should belong to the 'Imám, as well as three thousand ducats every year. The herald proclaimed in Ta'izz the peace for ten years.

When peace with the 'Imám was ratified, and the Kurds became separate from him, the Sultan sent out a detachment of the household troops, of two hundred horsemen, together with footmen of Medh-ḥij, for the siege against Hezzán.<sup>1150</sup> He also ordered the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of Búz to march from Ṣan'á' and join them with his forces. The Sheykh 'Ebú'l-Jened then went forward and concluded peace for the Kurds on condition of their leaving off their entering into Dhemár and Ridá',<sup>1151</sup> their evacuating the fief (of Ṣan'á'), and that their hostages should still remain at 'Arús.<sup>1152</sup> The Sultan then commanded the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín to take up his abode in Dhemár, making it his home, which order he conformed to.

f. 208<sup>a</sup>

And on the 3rd of the latter Jumádá the Sultan journeyed to Jened for the purpose of the chase. He remained there until the 11th of the month (14th October, 1312), when he returned to Ta'izz, and proceeded to Zebíd on the 24th, entering Zebíd the 4th of Rejeb (3rd November). And in the night preceding Friday the 24th Rejeb (22nd November), the barracks of the garrison of Ta'izz were burnt down. The causes whereof were differently stated by the people. Much property was destroyed therein, utensils, furniture, valuable books, and other things besides, which could not be numbered. Among that which was consumed were two large and complete sleeping-tents of cloth of gold, one yellow, the other red. The Sultan was then at Zebíd; but on the Saturday, 25th Rejeb, he went forth to Feshál<sup>1153</sup> for the purpose of hunting, remaining there until the end of the month, when he returned to Zebíd.

f. 208<sup>a</sup>

And in this year A.H. 712 the Sultan ordered the construction

of a pavilion at Zebíd, on the outside of the Shubáriq<sup>1154</sup> gate, in the garden of which he had commanded the formation, commonly known as the Enclosure of Lebíq.<sup>1155</sup> The plan of the pavilion, as then built, was that of an upper chamber 45 cubits (112 feet) long, at the upper end of which was a seat of six cubits. It had a spacious vestibule, and above this a pavilion with four halls overlooking the garden in all its parts.

In this year A.H. 712, also, Melik Náṣir, lord of Egypt, performed the pilgrimage at Mekka, with one hundred horsemen of his slaves, and six thousand slaves on camels, whose weapons were bows. He reached Mekka the Honoured in twenty-two days from the date of his exit from Damascus, clad in the pilgrim garb and humbling himself before God. He performed the circumambulations round the Cubical House in a state of vexation with the people, for he was lame in an unsightly degree. He performed the whole of his ceremonial duties, and when he quitted the pilgrim state he caused his head to be shaved, and gave largesse to the people and distributed alms. He then returned, having with him the Sheríf 'Ebú'l-Ghayth son of 'Ebú Numeyy. His two brothers Rumeythā and Humeýḍa had already taken to flight when they became aware of his coming, fearing that he would lay hands on them. They went forth from Mekka and pillaged the merchants who had come to Mekka in a most merciless manner, leaving nothing to any one of them. They committed also other villainous acts never perpetrated by mortal. They remained absent from Mekka until the days of the pilgrimage had come to an end, when they returned to the city.

In the month of Sha'bán of this year 712 (December, 1312) Melik Mudhaffer Ḥasan son of the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed was attacked by an indisposition in his body, this happening after his arrival from Sheref, he having been not quite well even before he went up there. The fever never left him, and was accompanied with a cough. And when the matter became serious, his father ordered him to ascend to the upper country. So he went up, but matters grew more threatening in Ramaḍán.

Then the Sultan thought to go up also, but he delayed a while. And when it was the day of the festival, tidings came in that shocked him. So he ordered the Intimate Muwaffaqu'd-Dín to go up in all haste; and he went up on the day of the festival at noon, being on a Monday (about 2nd February, 1313). He arrived at Ta'izz about dawn on Tuesday, as the sun was rising. The Sultan left Zebíd at noon on the Tuesday, entering Ta'izz on Thursday. He sent for his son to Thubát, and sent the physicians to treat him, but he increased in weakness only, and in loss of flesh. Things ceased not to be thus until he died on the Sunday the 6th of Dhú'l-Qa'da (6th March), after he had expressed his last wishes, and deliberately exhibited constancy in those last wishes. Among the whole number of his expressed last wishes there were found that he should not be vociferously wailed over, that no garment should be rent over him, that his corpse should not be swathed save in one cotton cloth, that nothing should be killed over his grave from among his horses, and that he should be buried in the cemetery of the Muslim community. And his father gave effect to his last wishes as to everything that he had expressed, save in the burying. For verily he commanded him to be buried by the side of his brother Dháfir in the college named Mu'eyyediyya in the western suburb of Ta'izz. He was one of the most noble of princes in worth. He expressed as one of his last wishes that there should be built for him a college in the village of Makhárib, that running water should be led to it, and thence to a tank below it. His father executed the whole of this. The day of his burial was a day to be seen; and there were present at his interment all the princes of the house of Resúl, who also witnessed the recitation of the Qur'an over him for seven days. His father commanded that the recitations should be performed for him at every place in the dominions. 'Afff son of Ja'fer wrote to the Sultan with condolences for him in these distichs:—

*"Is he the lord of princes and their Sultan? Or is he one towards whom obedience is an obligatory duty?"*

*There is no prince to untie what he hath tied ; nor is there  
a prince to tie up what he hath disintegrated.*

*There is no substitute for thee in this human race ; while as  
to the whole race, thou art a substitute for them."*

And on the 10th day of Dhú'l-Qa'da of this year 712 (about 10th February, 1313) died the judge Jemálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed the Yaḥyawite. He used to act as deputy for his paternal uncle the judge Muwaffaqu'd-Dín, the Intimate, in the functions of Judge of Judges. He used to lay down the laws and decide the cases, while no one contested his decisions. His more usual practice was to follow the path of total self-denial, to such degree that the greater number of his family and associates used to say, in respect of him, that he never took to himself anything of the world's goods. It was his paternal uncle, 'Ebú Bekr, who had brought him up ; and never did there accrue to them the office of the judgeship or that of the wezírship, save after that they [had] taken the degree of doctor of laws, had professed devoutness, had performed the pilgrimage, had lived as a seeker of sanctuary in Mekka and Medína, and had become acquainted with mankind in Yemen, in the north cantons, and in Hġáz. He never gained anything of the world's goods as the whole  
 ۳۳۸ of the people thereof make their profit, neither did he ever take a woman to be his wife. His expressed opinion was formed on those of his two paternal uncles, 'Ebú Bekr and 'Aliyy ; nor did these two ever differ from him. In the number of the associates of his uncle 'Ebú Bekr there was a party who avowed his competency, and who at times placed him as the superior of his uncle 'Ebú Bekr.

In the same year A.H. 712 died the judge Muwaffaqu'd-Dín, the Intimate, 'Aliyy son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the Yaḥyawite, commonly called the Intimate. He was a perfect man, a leader of men, erudite, a good jurist, astute, eloquent, valiant. He filled the offices of the wezírship and judgeship in the Mu'eyyediyyan reign until the day of his death, which took

place on the 3rd of Dhú'l-Hijja of the year (12th April, 1313); may God, who be extolled, have mercy on him.

In the year A.H. 713 (A.D. 1313-14) the Sultan proceeded from Ta'izz to Jened, where he remained a space; and in the month of the latter Rebí (July-August) a mandate of the Sultan was issued to the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of Búz, for him to set out from Dhemár and pitch his camp against the castle of Hezzán, setting up the ballista against it. He did what he was commanded to do, and set up the ballista against it. The 'Emír Shemsu'd-Dín 'Abbás son of Muḥammed son of 'Abbás, too, joined (the Court) on his removal from (the government of) Ḥaraḍ. And in the latter part of the month of the latter Rebí the Kurds murdered Ḥasan son of 'Iyás, governor of Ṣan'á, together with six men of the Ghuzz people, of whom were the son of Ghalláb, Táj son of 'Izz, and the son of Minqár, besides a number of footmen. So the Sultan detached 'Abbás son of Muḥammed with fifty horsemen besides his own array, who set out from Ta'izz on the 5th of the former Jumádá (27th August, 1313), and remained with the son of Búz in his camp. The ballista ceased not to batter Hezzán until it had destroyed so much of it that no one knew that thunderbolts had ever done to a castle what the ballista had effected in Hezzán.

When the Kurds became hard pressed and they were reduced to extremity, seeing death plainly before them, they took asylum with the Sultan. The Sheykh Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Umer son of Jened wrote in their behalf entreating the Sultan's kindness towards them, and referring to him for an amnesty in their respect. A mandate of the Sultan was issued granting them an amnesty, and was entrusted to the 'Emír 'Ibráhím son of Shukr and to Jelál son of 'Esed. These, then, were introduced into the Sultan's presence at Jened, where they made their submission and begged for the favourable disposition of the august mind. He reverted to the generous natural character and granted them forgiveness on condition that nothing should emanate from them which



might call for anger in their respect. They surrendered Hezzán and returned to Dhemár as they were used to do in the service. The Sultan ordered the camps pitched against them to be removed, and those camps were in effect removed on the day of the new moon in the month of Rejeb of the year 713 (21st October, 1313).

f. 210<sup>a</sup> The 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Ḥasan son of Búz proceeded to Ṣan'á', and the 'Emír 'Abbás son of Muḥammed to the country of the Hemdán tribe to destroy their grain crops, devastate their land, and pitch his camp against Beyt-En'um,<sup>1156</sup> because of what had arisen on their part that was not approved of. The Sultan commanded, therefore, that their crops should be ravaged in return for what they had done.

And at this date the august cavalcade proceeded to Zebíd, and entered it on the 12th of Rejeb (2nd November, 1313). And there came to the Sultan, as he was staying in Zebíd, the great 'Emír Hádí son of 'Izzu'd-Dín and Dáwúd son of Músá, entreating for the 'Emír 'Esedu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Aḥmed son of 'Izzu'd-Dín; but their request was not granted that he should come forth out of prison. There was now issued a command from the Sultan for the advance of the 'Emír 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy to the district of Ṣuheyb<sup>1157</sup> with a considerable force of horse and foot. He remained in the land of the 'Esáwida<sup>1158</sup> until they had pledged double hostages. He then marched to Maqmáh,<sup>1159</sup> where the troops ravaged their town and destroyed a large quantity of their store corn. The 'Emír also devastated a large extent of sown crops and other things belonging to the Jaḥáfil.

On the 1st of Dhú'l-Ḥijja (18th March, 1314) the Sultan set free the 'Emír Jamálu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Wehhás from the prison of Ta'izz, the Sultan himself being then at Zebíd. The 'Emír Jamálu'd-Dín, and with him the Governor of Ta'izz, went down to the august Court to request that he might return to the service of the Sultan, and that the castle of Dhafer<sup>1160</sup> might be taken possession of; these

requests were complied with. His stay in the prison was of four years' duration, neither one day more nor one day less. He remained in Zebíd a space, a number of his people and of the sons of his paternal uncle having come down to him and informed him of the refusal of his son to give up the said castle. He therefore begged the Sultan to accept his children and paternal cousins as hostages, with four lawful wives of his female household who were already at Şan'á, and that he should be left to go up as he was, so that he might attain to an entrance into the castle and deliver it over to the agents of the Sultan his lord. This was permitted to him, and he journeyed to his son. When he had ascended to the castle and taken possession thereof, he turned out his son and ordered him to journey to the court of the Sultan. He delivered the castle to the agents of the Sultan.

And in this year A.H. 713 the Sherif 'Ebú'l-Ghayth son of 'Ebú Numeyy arrived at Mekka from Egypt with a large military force, among them being three hundred and twenty horse from among the Turkish slave-guards and five hundred horse from among the Sherifs of Medína, besides what had joined on to them from among the freebooters and robbers. When Rumeytha and Humeйда obtained intelligence of their coming, they both fled in the direction of Haly of the son of Ya'qúb.<sup>1181</sup> The Sherif 'Ebú'l-Ghayth then took charge of Mekka. The commander was the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ẓafşá. When the auspicious ark and the divinely aided Mu'eyyedian banner arrived, the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ẓafşá and the Sherif 'Ebú'l-Ghayth went forth to meet them, and went up with them to the mountains of 'Arefát, as was the custom.

In the year A.H. 714 (A.D. 1314-15) the Sherif 'Ebú'l-Ghayth son of 'Ebú Numeyy, with the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ẓafşá, journeyed towards the canton of Haly of the son of Ya'qúb to seek for Rumeytha and Humeйда; but they found no tidings of them, as the two had already reached the country of the Serát mountains. When the 'Emír Seyfu'd-Dín Ẓafşá reached Haly he would not enter the place, but remarked:

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f. 210<sup>b</sup>

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(f. 211<sup>a</sup>)f. 211<sup>b</sup>

"This is the first of the dominions of the lord of Yemen, and is not to be entered, save by command of the Sultan Melik Násir." So he turned back on his heel.

In Šafer of the year 714 (May-June, 1314) the 'Emír 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Aliyy son of Wehhás delivered over the castle of Dhafer<sup>1162</sup> in an equitable manner to the 'Emír Suleymán son of Muḥammed, lord of 'Arús,<sup>1163</sup> the castle of Lijám<sup>1164</sup> being given up to him. He moved to this latter, and transferred all that he possessed at Dhafer, family and goods; so he gave up Dhafer and went forth from it. His hostages were allowed to depart from Šan'á'; and letters came from the 'Emír Suleymán announcing his having taken possession, on the night preceding Thursday the 14th of the first Rebí' in the year (1st July, 1314). Drums were beat at the joyful news, and the harbingers received robes of honour. The Sultan equipped his hostages, people and children, sending them forth to him. The 'Emír 'Abdu'lláh came down to the sacred court of the Sultan, who bestowed upon him the kettle-drums and banners, conferring upon him also the fief of Qaḥma.

And in the night preceding the 15th of the latter Rebí' of this year 714 (28th July, 1314) died the Sheríf 'Imádu'd-Dín 'Idrís son of 'Aliyy son of 'Abdu'lláh son of Ḥasan son of f. 212\* Ḥamza son of Suleymán son of Ḥamza son of 'Aliyy son of Ḥamza. He was a noble man; witty, brave, generous, munificent, prodigal. He was learned, intelligent, wise, talented, possessed of the qualities of an 'Imám. He was a poet, eloquent and correct. We have already given samples of his verse enough to bear witness to his eminence. He was the author of the book named "The Treasury of Good Men, towards a Knowledge of the Biography and Traditions (of the Prophet)," which is a superior and instructive work. He also wrote a number of books on various sciences. A number of poets have eulogized him, to whom he used to make magnificent gifts. He was, God, who be extolled, have mercy on him, extreme in his munificence, generosity, and valour. God, who be extolled, have mercy on him.

And in the year A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315-16) the 'Emír 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kesh-Dughdi<sup>1165</sup> came to court, and with him a party of persons sent for from the lands of Egypt and Syria. The said 'Emír 'Alá'u'd-Dín was marshal of the household to Melik Mudhaffer, lord of Ḥamát; and was eminent among the men of his class, uniting prowess of the spear with chasteness of speech. He had in his memory a whole number of the poems of the pre-Muḥammedan days of paganism, of the poets born pagans but dead in 'Islám, and of others besides, modern Muslims and affiliated Arabians. He knew also more or less of falconry; and it is said that he knew somewhat of the art of playing musical instruments. He advanced in the favour of the Sultan with so great a rapidity that the like had never been known. The Sultan, on whom be the mercy of God, who be extolled, recompensed him with an extensive fief, giving him also the kettledrums and banners. He made him one of his familiars.

(ff. 212<sup>b</sup>-213<sup>a</sup>)  
f. 213<sup>b</sup>f. 214<sup>a</sup>r<sup>oe</sup>

In this year A.H. 715, also, the Sheríf Ḥumeyḍa son of 'Ebú Numeyy returned to Mekka and killed his brother 'Ebú'l-Ghayth,<sup>1166</sup> making himself master of Mekka. The Sultan Melik Násir was angered at this, and sent out a compact array of forces in company with the Sherif Seyfu'd-Dín 'Uṭayfa. So when Ḥumeyḍa received intelligence of their arrival he fled from Mekka, of which 'Uṭayfa took possession, Ḥumeyḍa getting away to the east.

And in this year A.H. 715, again, the judge Jemálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of the jurist Raḍiyyu'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the Yahyawite took charge of the office of Judge of Judges, the Sultan giving him that important post as a mark of honour to his father, for his age at the time was but 20 years.

And in it, too, died the jurist, the 'Imám, the very learned 'Ebú'l-Ḥasan 'Aliyy son of the jurist 'Ibráhím son of Muḥammed son of Ḥuseyn the Bejlite, whose nativity was in the year A.H. 633 (A.D. 1235) or A.H. 634 (A.D. 1236). He was a blessed man, renowned for his perfect knowledge of jurisprudence and nobility of character, as well as good moral qualities. He

studied jurisprudence at first under his paternal uncle 'Ismá'íl. He then migrated to Beyt-Ḥuseyn,<sup>1167</sup> and completed his law course under the jurist 'Umer son of 'Aliyy the Tebá'ite, from whom he acquired the *Muḥedhdhib*<sup>1168</sup> in a satisfactory manner, and who made him learn it by heart. So he got it by heart in such fashion of memory as to distinguish between the (conjunctions) 'also' and 'so' (in the consecutive clauses). He also acquired from him the science of rhetoric and others, chastening his diction under him in a way to excite admiration. He next journeyed to the jurist 'Aḥmed son of Músá son of 'Ujeyl,<sup>1169</sup> acquiring instruction from him also. He then returned to his own country and took up his abode in the village of Shujeyna,<sup>1170</sup> keeping to the path of piety and abstention with a perfect tenacity, while he set himself up as a professor. People came to him from near and from far, and he became famous for science and for virtue. He was the noblest man of his epoch in respect of character, the most apprehensive of science by his faculties, and the most frequent as to giving lectures on the Qur'án and on the apostolic practices.<sup>1171</sup> Thus saith Jenediyy :<sup>1172</sup> "Abdu'lláh son of Muḥammed the Red ('el-'Aḥmer), one of the professors of Zebíd, informed me, saying: 'I was a companion of the jurist 'Aliyy son of 'Ibráḥím, and kept to his society for twenty years, during which I never knew an asker who asked of him and he made an excuse; on the contrary, he gave him that for which he asked; and he used to practise all the duties towards God, whether obligatory or commendable, with an assiduous performance. He was the most blessed in his teaching of all the jurists.'" Again hath Jenediyy said: "And the jurist Muḥammed son of 'Abdu'lláh the Haḍramawtite, the jurist of Zebíd, and its official legist, also informed me, saying: 'When I came to the jurist 'Aliyy son of 'Ibráḥím, wishing to read under him, and I was in a state of trepidation, I wished to collect my senses for the acquisition of science. At the first lesson which I read with him, I rose up, but experienced the very reverse of the ardour that had animated me, for there were

1160

f. 214<sup>b</sup>

1161

on my mind a number of problems that had appeared doubtful to me. But when I began, and read with him the first day, I brought to mind the whole of the problems; still, not one of those problems was there which I so brought to mind but that its difficulty vanished and its error became distinguishable from its correct portion, and I have never ceased to realize an increase until this my present time, which, I doubt not, is a fruit of his blessing." Jenediyy has further said: "He was possessed of great worldly means. If he remained in his house, he fed all who came, all visitors, and all students whose means were exhausted. He used very frequently to perform the Mekka pilgrimage, spending, on the road and at Mekka, sums without limit. They have counted his times of performance thereof, and it was something over thirty pilgrimages. He was the most ready of men in imparting jurisprudence, and the most perfect of them in repeating the *Muhedhdhib* away from any copy of the book by heart. There issued from his instruction about a hundred professors, and there was not among all the teachers of latter times, in the low seaboard lands or in the highlands, anyone who had more disciples than he." His death took place on the 12th Muḥarrem of the year 715 (18th April, 1315).

In the year A.H. 716 (A.D. 1316-17) there came upon the Sultan a severe sickness, which it was feared would destroy him, and from it he was near to dissolution. There arose false rumours of his death, and it is related that the judge Jemálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of 'Ebú Bekr son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the Yahyawite wrote to Melik Násir Jelálu'd-Dín Muḥammed son of Melik 'Eshref I on confidential matters, and ordered him to publish a claim (to the sovereignty), together with his loss of all hope for his paternal uncle. He wrote letters to the chief towns also. When this information became spread abroad, the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed issued in haste from Ta'izz to Jened, he being still labouring from ague. The son of his brother took fright at this, and sought a refuge in Mount Sewraq,<sup>1178</sup> a mountain easy of defence and towering over the

f. 215<sup>a</sup>

f. 20v

f. 215<sup>b</sup> city of Jened. The Sultan equipped troops against him, their commander being the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín Búz son of Ḥasan son of Búz. He pitched against him, and surrounded the mountain on every side. Melik Násir then begged for an amnesty from the Sultan, who granted it to him. He then came down to him under the amnesty, and an alliance, with peace, resulted between them. It is said he informed the Sultan of the cause of this event, and that he who had engaged him to undertake the act was simply the judge Jemálu'd-Dín son of 'Ebú Bekr the Yahyawite. When the Sultan had ascertained the truth of the matter, he dismissed the judge Jemálu'd-Dín from the judgeship and chained him up in the castle of Ta'izz, conferring the functions of the judgeship on the judge Raḍiyyu'd-Dín 'Ebú Bekr son of 'Aḥmed son of 'Umer son of 'Edíb, one of the jurists of the Shaf'ite school. This took place in a council held by the Sultan with a large number of the jurists of the highlands and of the low countries of the sea-coast, unanimity being secured in the decision. He was a jurist of eminence, possessed extensive science and well acquainted with many current matters deduced by reasoning or handed down traditionally, as also a fecundity of speech and an experience that had drawn milk from all the teats of fortune.

In the year A.H. 717 (A.D. 1317-18) there arrived at court the judge 'Ebú'l-Maḥásin 'Abdu'l-Báqi son of 'Abdu'l-Mejíd from Damascus by way of Mekka in consequence of a request from the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed, who gave to him, of his munificence, an amount beside which appears small all the munificence of bygone worthies of generosity and liberality. He appointed him to the office of secretary for epistolary correspondence in the territory of Yemen. He was the paragon of his epoch and the unique one of his generation for chastity of diction, eminence, exemplariness, and nobleness.

f. 216<sup>a</sup>  
(f. 216<sup>b</sup>) In this year A.H. 717, again, the divinely aided forces entered Felela,<sup>1174</sup> taking possession thereof. Rejoicings took place in the whole territory.

f. 217<sup>a</sup>

In the same year an envoy arrived from the lord of Hurmuz with presents and rarities; the Sultan received him as was fitting, showing him honour and kindness.

(f. 217<sup>b</sup>)

In this year A.H. 717, also, died the jurist Sherefu'd-Dín 'Aḥmed son of the jurist 'Aliyy the Juneyd son of the jurist 'Aḥmed son of the jurist Muḥammed son of Maṣṣūr son of Juneyd, who was born in the year A.H. 659 (A.D. 1260-1). He was learned in jurisprudence; he knew the Qur'án by heart, was experienced and well-informed. He was appointed tutor in the 'Esediyya <sup>1175</sup> College in the city of Ta'izz after his father had filled the office. The jurist 'Ebú Bekr son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the Yaḥyawite used to look with favour on his condition and that of his brothers, out of consideration for his discipleship to their father. Subsequently the soul of Melik Mu'eyyed called on him to read and recite the Qur'án in the days of his father Melik Mudhaffer. He enquired for a competent jurist, and was directed to the jurist Muḥammed son of 'Abbás the Sha'bīte, whom he requested to teach him to recite, but who excused himself and indicated this son of Juneyd. Mu'eyyed sent for him and told him his object. He answered "Consult my father," meaning the jurist 'Ebú Bekr son of Muḥammed son of 'Umer the Yaḥyawite. Mu'eyyed replied: "Didst thou not mention to us that thy father is already dead?" So he informed the prince of whom he meant. The prince consulted the jurist, who advised him to engage the son of Juneyd. Mu'eyyed therefore read and recited with him; and there sprang up between the two a familiarity, friendship, and intimacy, to such a degree that he used to ride out when the prince rode. He went up with him to Ṣan'á' on a she-mule with an ornamental girth, after the manner of riding used by wezirs. In Ṣan'á' the people used to betake themselves to his door and acclaim in passing him. He ceased not to be with him until the prince journeyed to Shahr <sup>1176</sup> in the year A.H. 694 (A.D. 1294-5); and when Mudhaffer died, and there arose between 'Eshref and Mu'eyyed the dispute that ensued, so that Melik Mu'eyyed was made prisoner and his followers dispersed,

f. 218<sup>a</sup>f. 218<sup>a</sup>f. 218<sup>a</sup>



this jurist went to Shujeyna<sup>1177</sup> and remained with the jurists, the sons of the Bejlite. When the sovereignty lapsed to Melik Mu'eyyed, the jurist presented himself to him and was reinstated in his former position, where he never failed to enjoy the favour of Mu'eyyed. He was a jurist versed in the sources of the law, a master of syntax and lexicology. He had also a talent for inditing poetry, and discoursed satisfactorily on mystical philosophy. The people of Semker<sup>1178</sup> had a full confidence in him. He expired on a Wednesday the 12th of the first Jumádá in the year A.H. 717 (21st July, A.D. 1317). May God, who be extolled, have mercy on him.

f. 219<sup>a</sup> And in the year A.H. 718 (A.D. 1318-19) the judge Şafiiyyu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Abdu'r-Razzáq of Wásit came to court at the urgent request of the Sultán, who spent upon him up to the time of his arrival about two thousand mithqáls<sup>1179</sup> of coined gold. When he arrived, as we have related, the Sultan conferred on him the office of Collector-General of the Revenue. He was in great favour with the Sultan, and his control extended over all the exchequers. He was husband to the daughter of the 'Emír 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kesh-Dughdi, who it was that indicated him to the Sultan. He was very severe in his proceedings towards the people. He next went to 'Aden, and brought thence to the public treasury three hundred thousand royal ducats. When he came with this sum he met the Sultan at Jened, who showed him honour and kindness, exalting the estimation in which he was held.

And in this year A.H. 718 envoys went forth to Egypt; these being the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Ḥasan son of 'Esed and those who had the custom to travel in his suite. Sultan Melik Násir received them in the very best manner.

In this year A.H. 718, again, the 'Emír 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kesh-Dughdi organized the forces of the Sultan, divinely aided, on the model of the Egyptian armies. He established a wing on the right flank and a wing on the left flank, placing behind the Sultan numerous companies. He made the slave-guards mount by sound of trumpet, forming among them a corps of battle-axe men; and he got the Sultan to mount in that costume.<sup>1180</sup>

In this year A.H. 718, too, died the august lady, the Lady of the Palace of Dumluwa, daughter of our lord the Sultan Melik Muḏhaffer Shemsu'd-Dín Yúsuf son of 'Umer son of 'Aliyy son of Resúl, who was she that was named Nebíla. She was a righteous woman, God-fearing, affectionate towards her kin, beneficent to whomsoever sought refuge with her. She built a college in the city of Ta'ízz and a mosque in Mount Šabír.<sup>1181</sup> She also built a college in the city of Zebíd, which is called 'Eshrefiyya,<sup>1182</sup> to the south of the mosque of the two pillars (Mesjidu'l-Míleyn).<sup>1183</sup> She gave, in mortmain trust for the whole, estates sufficient to maintain all. She used to live in the castle of Ta'ízz until there broke out between her brother Mu'eyyed and the son of her brother, Nášir son of 'Eshref, the misunderstanding mentioned above. The Sultan then became alarmed at her, and ordered her to take up her abode in the town. She therefore went down from the castle, and dwelt in the western quarter of the city of Ta'ízz until she died, her demise occurring in the middle of Muḥarrem, A.H. 718 (18th March, A.D. 1318); may God, who be extolled, have mercy on her.

In the year A.H. 719 (A.D. 1319-20) the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed proceeded to the cantons of Sihám, staying at Kedrá',<sup>1184</sup> dismissing some of the governors and appointing others. The judge Šafiyyu'd-Dín was permanent in the controllership of the exchequers. This same year, too, Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed bestowed on the 'Emír 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kesh-Dughdi the lieutenancy of the Sultan and the field-marshalship of the divinely aided forces, in which office he advanced above others in an unheard-of manner, so that there sprang up between him and the judge Šafiyyu'd-Dín, his son-in-law, an estrangement of outward manner and inward feeling.

In this year A.H. 719, again, there arose in the Sultan an ill-feeling against the 'Emír Shujá'u'd-Dín 'Umer son of 'Alá'u'd-Dín the Shihábite, whom he put out of office, arrested him, and consigned him to prison. Certain words were attributed to him on the subject of Melik Nášir. He remained

f. 220<sup>b</sup>

r 11

(f. 221<sup>a</sup>)f. 221<sup>b</sup>f. 222<sup>a</sup>

several weeks in prison, when the Sultan, having ascertained that he was innocent, set him at liberty.

There arose between the 'Emír Shujá'u'd-Dín and the judge Jemálu'd-Dín prolonged disputes. The judge Jemálu'd-Dín produced in the presence of the Sultan a body of persons who bore witness against the 'Emír Shujá'u'd-Dín in respect of many words uttered on the subject of Melik Násir. Upon this Melik  
 ۳۱۳ Násir presented himself in person before the Sultan, and by denials cleared away from the 'Emír Shujá'u'd-Dín all that had been reported as having been said by him. The Sultan was convinced of the part that had been played by the judge Jemálu'd-Dín, and became extremely exasperated against the judge, whom he delivered over to the judge Şafíyyu'd-Dín to extract from him a large sum of money. So he compelled him to pay fines of large amount by torture of a hideous nature.

f. 222<sup>b</sup> In the year A.H. 720 (A.D. 1320-1) the 'Emír 'Alá'u'd-Dín Kesh-Dughdi fell sick of a grievous disorder, which eventuated with him in death. Then there arose many suits against the judge Şafíyyu'd-Dín 'Abdu'lláh son of 'Abdu'r-Razzáq, and the clerks of the exchequers proved in the presence of the Sultan that he had taken a certain amount out of the revenue. So the Sultan dismissed him from the office of Collector-General of the Revenue, giving the duty of this office to the 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín Yúsuf son of Ya'qúb son of Jewád, who was a great 'Emír, of elevated views, and prudently cunctative. He begged of the Sultan, on whom may God, who be extolled, have mercy, that he would not place the punishment of anyone in his hands, and that any revenue that might be ascertained as due to the exchequers the Sultan should commission the 'Emír  
 . of the body-guard to levy it. This is a great indication of his goodness.

And in this year A.H. 720 there came to court the judge the most honourable Muḥyi'd-Dín Yaḥyá son of 'Abdu'l-Latíf of  
 ۳۱۴ Tekrít, from the dominions of Egypt, by way of Mekka the Honoured. He submitted in the presence of the Sultan many jewels, such as emeralds and pearls. He advanced in the good

graces of the Sultan at a rapid rate, and was raised to the grade of wezír. The Sultan delivered to him from his own private treasure one hundred thousand ducats of pure metal according to the award of the merchants. He also wrote in his favour to 'Aden for fifty thousand ; and when he went down to 'Aden he took possession therein as though its owner, he grasping also the office of wezír.

In this year A.H. 720, again, there came to court the 'Emír Bedru'd-Dín Hasan son of 'Aḥmed son of Mukhtár, the 'Imám, the eminent, the erudite in the sciences of the ancients as to astronomy, geometry, and the almagest. He was instructed in every art and had some knowledge, practically, in every science. There was no one in the lands of Egypt or countries of Syria, with all their extent, that could be compared to him for knowledge. The Sultan rejoiced greatly at his arrival.

f. 223<sup>a</sup>(f. 223<sup>b</sup>)f. 224<sup>a</sup>

In the year A.H. 721 (A.D. 1321-2) the judge Muḥyi'd-Dín came to court from 'Aden, and there ensued between him and the judge Şafiyu'd-Dín many suits, and there chanced to Muḥyi'd-Dín some incidents that were not prepossessing, and that ensued in a diminution of the esteem in which he had been held by the Sultan. In these he was seeking for the wezírship, in the acquisition of which he strove, labouring diligently. When he became importunate and over-pressing the Sultan said : " By no means ; there is no hope (for him)." Then again the Sultan desired to console him, so, on the day of the festival, the festival of the cessation of the month of fast, he made him ride in the place of the procession usually occupied by the wezír, and he therefore rode with the turban and cloak, costumed in the fashion of the wezírs of Egypt.

f. 170

And in this year A.H. 721 died the Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed, on whom be God's mercy. He had already decided upon going down to Zebíd, as was his usual custom every year. He went forth to the pavilion named Shejira,<sup>1185</sup> and abode there about ten days by reason of an indisposition that befell him. When this sickness became serious, he being still at the pavilion Dáru'sh-Shejira, he commanded his son Sultan Melik Muḥammad

(f. 224<sup>b</sup>)f. 225<sup>a</sup>

to go up to the castle, he having then no other child besides him. He went up to the castle in the latter part of the day on the Monday, 30th of Dhú'l-Qa'da of this year (21st December, 1321), and his father, Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed, died soon after midnight in the night preceding Tuesday the first night of Dhú'l-Hijja (22nd December).

The 'Emír Jemálu'd-Dín Yúsuf son of Ya'qúb son of Jewád had already gone down, who was at the time lieutenant of the realm, field-marshal of the forces, and marshal of the household troops. Together with him there had gone down a body of the forces and of the chiefs of the 'Emírs. He showed an exemplary firmness, preserved the order of the state, and had the call "Blessed is the night!"<sup>1186</sup> shouted by the sentries in Shejira until the night had come to an end. Late in the night they carried up the deceased Sultan to the castle and laid him down in the court of justice, he having, God be merciful to him, already expressed as his last wish that a party of jurists should perform his mortuary ablution, among them being the jurist the Dhafárite and the bodyguardsman Bahá; also, that all the utensils used in his ablution should be of earthenware bought in the market, where also his winding-sheet was to be purchased. These were all bought so, as above described; and that was the first thing that the people disapproved of in his son Mujáhid.

f. 225<sup>b</sup> He was carried from the court of justice to his own college, which he had originated in the western quarter of Ta'izz; he was there buried, and the day of his interment was a day to be seen. And ah! alas, for a calamity which left the public amazed and the courtiers bewildered!

Among the monuments left by him was the college which he had instituted in the western quarter of Ta'izz, known by the name of the Mu'eyyediyya, and in which he set up a professor, with students and a tutor, a precentor, a mu'edhdhin, a teacher and orphans to learn the Qur'án, and a chanter who should recite the Qur'án in all seven of its *literatim* versions.<sup>1187</sup> He gave in mortmain trust lands and vineyards sufficient to maintain them; and he further bestowed thereon in mortmain trust a

library of exquisite manuscripts. He built in his days a number of edifices also. His daughter, again, who was styled the Lady of the Palace of Dumluwa, built a college in the city of Zebíd and a mosque in Ta'izz; also a college in Dhafár of the Ḥabúḍite. She rebuilt, furthermore, a mosque in Zebíd. His privy-purse treasurer built a mosque in the city of Ta'izz, which is the one that stands between the western quarter and 'Adína,<sup>1188, 9</sup> by the side of which are the basins. It is known as his to this day, being called the Mosque of the Treasurer, "Mesjidu'l-Kházinár." The 'Emír Muḥammed son of Miká'íl, marshal of his household forces, built also a college in Zebíd, the one that fronts the Shubáriq<sup>1190</sup> gate. Beneath it passes the conduit, and it is now in ruins.

f. 17v

The Sultan Melik Mu'eyyed was a good prince, brave, enterprising, impetuous in a charge, munificent, generous, prodigal. There are some celebrated deeds of his, instances of bravery and of munificence, known to his familiars and to the public. He was, God's mercy on him, a student in many of the sciences. He made some progress in every art, taking a bachelor's degree in every science. He used to learn by heart the Muqaddima<sup>1191</sup> of Táhir son of Bábashádh, and, so as to recite it, Zujájiyy's work on words and sentences named "The Sufficiency of the would-be Learner by heart" (*Kifáyetu'l-Mutaḥaffidh*).<sup>1192</sup> He studied the *Tenbīh*<sup>1193</sup> (Admonition) of 'Ebú 'Isháq of Shíráz, so as to recite it accurately. He studied the detailed books on every art, and attended lectures on the apostolic traditions by Sheykh in whom confidence was placed, and who were of those who carried far back their authorities. The Sheykh, the venerated 'Imám, 'Ebú'l - 'Abbás 'Ahmed son of Muḥammed the Ṭaberite<sup>1194</sup> ('Et-Taberiyy), Sheykh of the Apostolical Practices in the Holy Court (of the Temple of Mecca), gave him his diploma as a doctor licensed to teach the Collections of Bukháriyy and Tirmidhiyy,<sup>1195</sup> taught him the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim,<sup>1196</sup> and licensed him as to all the other fundamental works according to the tenour of what he might transmit from books he had heard, lectured from, and had learnt, as to what he had himself written.

f. 226r

upon in every branch, and whatever existed written by him. He wrote an abridgment of the book *Jemhera*<sup>1197</sup> on falconry, explaining in his abridgment what the author of the work had not entered into, as to the operation of dredging with flour and lengthening the wing by a graft. He wrote a satisfactory commentary on the "Book of the Chase," by 'Ebú Firás,<sup>1198</sup> which book begins with the distich :

*"What is life? That with which the hours are lengthened. Life is that with which pleasure is perfected."*

He copied out a portion of the poems of the time of Ignorance, of the converts to 'Islám who were pagans before its promulgation, and of those who wrote Arabic as an acquired language when 'Islám first spread. He collected works on science in all its different varieties, whether on the science of the modes of reading them, on the readers or reciters of them, of the traditions relating to them, of their jurisprudence, of their elements, of their branches, of their realities, of their literature, of a knowledge of days of battle of the Arabians, their dates, their nominal designations, and the poetry relating to them, according to their various generations, a vast quantity. But God knows best.